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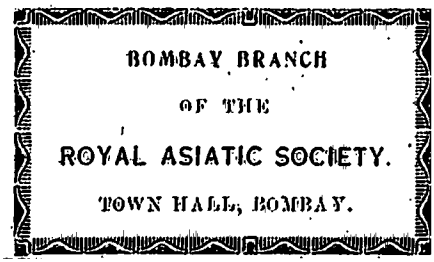

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HISTORICAL STUDIES

AND RECREATIONS.

HISTORICAL STUDIES

AND RECREATIONS.

BY

SHOSHEE CHUNDER DUTT,

RÁI BÁHÁDOOR,

AUTHOR OF "A VISION OF SUMERU AND OTHER POEMS," "BENGALIANA," ETC.

"Does a man speak foolishly? Suffer him gladly, for ye are wise. Does he speak erroneously? Stop such a man's mouth with sound words, that cannot be gainsaid. Does he speak truly? Rejoice in the truth."—CROMWELL.

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VOL 37332

IN TWO VOLUMES.

I.—*BENGAL: AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.*

II.—*THE GREAT WARS OF INDIA.*

III.—*THE RUINS OF THE OLD WORLD, READ AS MILESTONES OF CIVILISATION.*

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BENGAL.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES.

THERE is no readable account of Bengal that we know of.* This is rather curious, as Bengal is one of the earliest English possessions in India, and also the field where the pagodá-tree has thriven best from the commencement. It is, moreover, the cradle of much intelligence, and, at this moment, happens to be the focus from which all the political aspirations felt by the Hindus are radiating. No apology is therefore necessary for drawing particular attention to the country now, and for endeavouring to give such an account of it as will make its past and present condition generally understood.

The Presidency of Bengal (it is so styled) consists of five large provinces, named Bengal Proper, Behár, Orissá, Chotá Nágpore, and Assam;† and of two native states—namely, those of Hill Tipperáh and Cooch Behár. It extends from longitude 82° to 97° east, and from latitude 19° 18′ to 28° 15′ north, and comprises an area of about

* This sentence has given rise to much misunderstanding; but what we meant to state was, that there was no *connected* account of *all* Bengal in a readable form. Dr. Hunter has *since* given us a statistical account of Bengal which is certainly readable; but it is too voluminous to be used except as a book of reference.

† Assam has since been formed into a separate administration, but was so long treated as a part of Bengal that it ought properly to be noticed in this account.

250,000 square miles, with a population of about sixty-seven millions, and yielding an annual revenue of about seventeen millions sterling.

The boundaries of this territory are as follows: From the Chumpárun district, which forms the north-west corner, as far eastward as the Bootán Doárs, the Himálayan range, running through the independent states of Nepál, Sikkim, and Bootán, limits it on the north. Further east, along the northern frontier of Assam, are the tracts inhabited by the Ákhás, Duflás, Meeris, Mishmis, and other wild tribes. Along the eastern frontier lies a part of the independent province of Burmáh; lower down are the Munipore state, and the various hill-tribes known as the Looshais, Khyens, Meekirs, &c.; while the extreme south-east is bounded by British Burmáh. The southern boundary of the Presidency is the bay which bears its name. On the south-west is the province of Orissá, bounded on the south by the Madras Presidency. On the west are the North-Western Provinces, the native state of Rewáh in the Indore Agency, the tributary states attached to Chotá Nágpore and Cuttack, the Central Provinces, and the Madrás Presidency.

Except where Behár marches with the frontier of the North-Western Provinces, and where Bengal Proper and Orissá are bounded by the sea, the entire Presidency is encompassed on every side by a belt of native states, either wholly or partially independent, with which questions of boundary and extradition are constantly cropping up, and from which raids of the wild tribes are by no means unfrequent. On the northern frontier the most important state is Nepál, which is wholly independent. After it come the semi-independent state of Sikkim and the wholly independent state of Bootán, the latter of which is so weak as to be unable to control the outrages constantly perpetrated by its subjects on our frontier. Then comes the dependent state of Cooch Behár, now managed by a British commissioner, owing to the rájáh being a minor. The remaining portion of the boundary on the north, and the

whole of our eastern boundary are contiguous to territories occupied by wild tribes, whose raiding propensities are ungovernable, and whose forbearance it has been found necessary in several places to purchase by the payment of a subsidy, dependent on good behaviour, which partakes somewhat of the character of black-mail. On the east, between Sylhet and Chittagong, is the little principality of Hill Tipperáh, held by a semi-independent chieftain, who also owns zemindáries in British territory, by means of which only his good behaviour is secured. The tributary states on the western frontier are less troublesome now than they have been in the past, as the theatre of many revolts and rebellions.

The whole of the Presidency as above defined is, for administrative purposes, partitioned into eleven primary divisions, each division being subdivided into districts varying in number from three to nine. The total number of districts in Bengal is fifty-three, or, includiug the native state of Cooch Behár, fifty-four; and these are classified as follows :—

Province.	Division.	Districts.
Bengal Proper	Burdwán	Burdwán
		Báncoorah
		Beerbhoom
		Midnápore
		Hooghly
	Presidency	24 Pergunnáhs
		Nuddeá
		Jessore
	Rájsháhye	Moórshedábád
		Dinájepore
		Málddh "
		Rájsháhye
		Rungpore
		Bográh
		Pubná
	Cooch Behár	Dárjeeling
		Julpigoorie
		Cooch Behár (Native State)

Province.	Division.	Districts.
Bengal Proper (*concluded*)	Dáccá	Dáccá
		Furreedpore
		Báckergunj
		Mymensing
		Sylhet
		Cáchár
	Chittagong	Chittagong
		Noákhálly
		Tipperáh
		Hill-tracts of Chittagong
Behár	Pátná	Pátná
		Gyáh
		Sháhábád
		Tirhoot
		Sárun
		Chumpárun
	Bhaugulpore	Monghyr
		Bhaugulpore
		Purneáh
		Sonthál Pergunnáhs
Orissá	Orissá	Cuttack
		Pooree
		Bálasore
Chotá Nágpore	Chotá Nágpore	Házáreebágh
		Lohárduggáh
		Singbhoom
		Mánbhoom
Assam	Assam	Gowálpáráh
		Kámroop
		Durrung
		Nowgong
		Seebságur
		Luckimpore
		Nágá Hills
		Khásiáh Hills
		Gáro Hills

The province of Bengal Proper, which forms the largest portion of the entire Presidency, may be divided into three distinct parts—namely, (1) the Western, consisting of the five districts lying west of the Bhágirutty (Hooghly)

river, which comprise the Burdwán division; (2) the Central, consisting of the Presidency, Rájsháhye, and Cooch Behár divisions; and (3) the Eastern, consisting of the Dáccá and Chittagong divisions. The name of Behár appertains to that part of the Gangetic plain between the Himálayás and the plateau of Central India which is terminated at one end by the north-west districts of Gházeepore and Goruckpore, and at the other by the passes of the Rájmahal hills. The table-land lying south of Behár, and which under the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers of India was recognised as a part of it, is called Chotá Nágpore. Orissá is the strip of country running down between the hills and the west coast of the Bay of Bengal. Assam is the valley of the Brahmapootra, from the point where it debouches out of the Himálayás to where it escapes round the Gáro hills, to run downwards to the sea.

The divisions and districts above described are very dissimilar to each other in many respects—notably in all their physical characteristics, and also in the peculiarities and institutions of their inhabitants. Broadly speaking, the most conspicuous physical peculiarities of the entire Presidency are rivers of remarkable size, the two largest of which, the Ganges and the Brahmapootra, coming from different directions, unite just before they sweep down to the bay, forming a delta covered with a network of minor streams; hills placed in significant positions and surmounted by any amount of timber and jungle; and vast alluvial plains intersected by mighty streams and overspread by an abundance of crops and vegetation.

The diversities of soil, products, and climate are extremely great. As a general description of it, the climate of the entire Presidency may be characterized as damp, hot, and for the most part unhealthy; but of several districts the climate is excellent, and that of the highlands of Chotá Nágpore is superior to the climate of any other part of India except the hills. In several places, again, the climate varies according to the season. Thus, in Calcuttá,

the metropolis of the Presidency and of the whole English empire in the East, the climate is excellent during the cold weather, but is unhealthy both during and after the rains, when the east-winds sweep over the salt-water lakes, and the south-winds over the wet jungles of the Soonderbuns, bringing with them malaria and fever.

In consequence of its high elevation, the climate of Chotá Nágpore is very dry and wholesome; and nearly akin to it is that of the Behár districts, which is also considered very salubrious, and, so far as a tropical one can be said to be so, agreeable. Till recently the climate of the districts of the Burdwán division, too, had a good name, having borne a greater resemblance to the climate of Behár than to that of the rest of Bengal; but for some years past it has changed for the worse (except in the higher elevations towards the west), owing to the virulence of an epidemic fever which is depopulating this part of the country. Of the Orissá districts the climate is very uncertain, the country being liable to long-continued drought and to excessive rainfall; and hence the constant danger to Orissá from famine and inundations. The climate of the rest of the Presidency may be set down generally as damp, malarious, and hot; though in certain districts, as in Backergunj, the strong south-west monsoon coming up from the bay renders the atmosphere cool and tolerable.

Throughout all Bengal the year is divided into three seasons—the hot, the rainy, and the cold, the second being decidedly the worst. The hot weather extends from March to June, the rains from July to September or the middle of October, and the cold weather from November to February. The average temperature during the cold season ranges from 55° to 75°; during the rains from 75° to 85°; and in the hot season from 85° to 100°, occasionally rising still higher during part of the hottest days. Europeans everywhere consider the cold weather the most agreeable; while the natives, for the most part, regard the months when the hot winds are blowing as by far the healthiest. The heat of the western districts is generally

most intense; but that of Lower Bengal, though less so, is considered to be more enervating. It is so great in all places that it dries up tanks, swamps, and *jheels;* reduces the size of small rivers; makes pettier streamlets fordable. The rains which follow the hot weather are brought up by the monsoons from the bay. They are preceded by frequent storms of thunder and lightning, of which no adequate idea can be conveyed to those who have no personal knowledge of them. The rains themselves are also inconceivably intense. The wet season embraces about three and a half months, sometimes four; and for a good portion of this period the pouring in several districts may be said to be incessant, though, of course, there are days in every month, and hours in every day, when it does not rain. We have said that the rainy season is considered to be the most unhealthy. The principal diseases of Bengal are fever, diarrhœa, dysentery, and cholera, all of which are more or less rife at all times of the year, but, with the exception of the last, especially so during the rains. Cholera is particularly fatal during the cold weather, though it rages most in April and May.

Commencing from the west, the prevailing soil of the districts of the Pátná division may be described as sandy, with loam in part, and not unproductive. The soil of the Bhaugulpore districts is similar—that is, composed of sand and clay, and fairly productive. The highlands of the Chotá Nágpore division are rocky generally and barren, the rocks being of igneous origin and for the most part of gneiss formation; but the lowlands may be called fertile, though not in the same sense as the lands of Lower Bengal. In Orissá the prevailing soil of the delta is alluvial, being sandy only towards the coast, where it is also impregnated with salt.

As a rule, Bengal Proper—a great portion of which is within the delta formed by the numerous channels of the Ganges and the Brahmapootra—is exceedingly fertile. Of the Burdwán division, which is outside of the delta, the prevailing soil is alluvial deposit, and mixed sand, clay, and

kunkur, except to the westward in Báncoorá, where the country is dry and undulating, and more impregnated with the gravelly *detritus* of laterite rock, the elevated portion in the extreme west being exclusively laterite and rocky. The soil of the Presidency division is entirely alluvial, with no surface-deposit of pebble or gravel, or anything coarser than sand, and it is very fertile. In the Rájsháhye division, which forms one of the great rice-producing plains of Bengal, the ground is alluvial, chiefly sandy, but in parts stiff clay—except in the northern and western parts of Moorshedábád, which are more elevated, the soil of which is gray, red, and hard; while in Pubná, on the contrary, the soil is chiefly arable land, with extensive tracts of first-rate pasture and paddy ground. The earth of the Cooch Behár division is of all kinds, from rich loam to gravel and sand; that of Dárjeeling being slate and clay.

On the east, Assam has a great variety of soil, from stiff red clay in the Khásiáh and Jynteáh hills, and sandstone, shell, and slate in the Nágá hills, to the inundated lowland stratum on the banks of the Brahmapootra, which is eminently favourable to cultivation. In the Dáccá division, the soil is in general a rich alluvial sand, deposited by the streams, except where the country is not subject to inundations, where it is ferruginous *kunkur*, covered with a thin layer of vegetable mould. The soil of Cáchár, in the plains, is a mixture of sand and clay, while brimstone is found in the hills; and of Sylhet, clay mixed with sand and sandstone. Of the Chittagong districts, the soil of the plains is generally a very rich dark earth, and the banks of the rivers and *khálls* are cultivated all the year round; but in some places in Noákhálly the ground is impregnated with salt.

Briefly, the whole of the eastern districts may be characterized as being the most malarious and best productive part of the Presidency. The Dáccá districts are especially spoken of as the granary of Bengal; and those of the Rájsháhye and Presidency divisions are almost equally fertile. It is said that no substance so coarse as gravel is

to be found anywhere in the delta of the Ganges, or nearer the sea than four hundred miles; and this description of the country is certainly true of the entire area up to the Hooghly river on the west. The whole of this tract is subject to inundations, which very much conduces to its fertility.

The general impression of foreigners is, that Bengal is altogether a plain country, without any elevations in the way of rocks and hills; but the fact is otherwise, many districts being more or less hilly, though none are mountainous. The hilly districts are: Chumpárun, Gyáh, Sháhábád, Bhaugulpore, Monghyr, the Chotá Nágpore and Orissá districts, Dárjeeling and Julpigoorie, the Khásiáh and Jynteáh hills, the Nágá hills, the Gáro hills, Sylhet, Cáchár, and all the Chittagong districts. In Chumpárun are the Soomessur and Doon ranges of hills, occupying about three hundred and sixty-four square miles. In Gyáh there is one prominent hill, named Mohair, 1620 feet above the level of the sea, with rocky elevations around it. In Sháhábád is the Kymore range, with the Rhotás hills, of which the highest point is 1000 feet above the sea-level. The area of the Khurruckpore hill-range, in Bhaugulpore, is about one hundred and twenty square miles; of the Rájmahal range, about fifty square miles; and of the Kojhee and Kutooriáh hills, about sixty square miles. In Monghyr the area of the whole hill-tract is about two hundred and thirty-three square miles, the hills being generally composed of granite rocks. The Chotá Nágpore districts are all dotted with hills, of which the highest are in Házáreebágh, Parasnáth being 4700 feet above the sea, and Mahábira 4100 feet. The greater part of Orissá is occupied by a succession of hill-ranges, the seaboard only being a level plain. In the Burdwán division there are no hills; but there is an elevated tract known as the Jungle Mehals, situated to the west of Midnápore, and having an area of nineteen hundred and twelve square miles. The hill-territory of Dárjeeling has an area of about four hundred and seventy-seven square miles, and that of

Julpigoorie an area of about fifty square miles, the highest peak in the latter being Rive Gángoo, which is about 6222 feet high. The districts of the Khásiáh and Jynteáh hills, the Nágá hills, and the Gáro hills, are throughout more or less hilly; and the other districts of Assam are also diversified by elevated tracts, most of which have not yet been investigated. In Cáchár are the Borail range, the Telain range, the Rengtipár range, and the Soorespore hills. Sylhet is full of highlands of minor importance. In Chittagong are the Sitákoond range, the Goleásee range, the Sálkangá range, and the Teknaáf range; in Noákhálly is the Raghoonundun hill; and in Tipperáh are the Lálmye hills.

The highest of the elevations in Bengal are those in and about Dárjeeling, the principal sanitarium of the Presidency, which also commands the most magnificent view of the Snowy Range—the peak of Kinchinjingá, 28,000 feet above the sea-level, being clearly visible from it. The Rájmahal hills, in Behár, are very pleasing to the eye of the traveller ascending the Ganges or running up the East Indian Railway. The only other elevation that requires distinct mention is Parasnáth, which rises out of the plateau of Chotá Nágpore in the shape of an almost perfect cone, and is surmounted by the sacred temple of the Jains. A few years ago the Jains claimed an exclusive right to the use of this hill under a *firmán* granted to them by the Great Mogul; but the claim was rejected by the Government, possibly because the site may be required hereafter for a sanitarium, the air of Parasnáth being very salubrious.

The higher hills throughout Bengal are covered with forests, or with lofty and dense jungle; but the area of these tracts has not yet been correctly ascertained. The more extensive and valuable forests are all in the Assam and Cooch Behár divisions, the Cáchár district, and the hill-tracts of Chittagong. Patches of scant jungle are also to be found in the Bhaugulpore, Chotá Nágpore, and Orissá divisions, with remains of more extensive forests in the two latter divisions especially. In the immediate

neighbourhood of Calcuttá is a large, unsurveyed wilderness of malarious jungle (measuring about 7500 square miles, and covering the mouths of the Ganges from east to west over the three districts of 24 Pergunnáhs, Jessore, and Backergunj), which delights in the name of "Soonderbuns," or the beautiful forests. This supplies firewood to a great portion of Lower Bengal, the supply in other places being almost equally plentiful from the scrub jungles which are abundant everywhere, except in the Behár districts, where the use of dried cow-dung as fuel is therefore extremely common. The forests of the Assam and Cooch Behár divisions contain many valuable woods of different kinds, including the *sál, sissoo,* and *cheláwni;* and there are some india-rubber forests in Assam and Cáchár. All over the country are to be found the banian, mango, jack, tamarind, bamboo, *bábul* (gum-arabic), *mohowá,* cocoa-nut, palm, and areca-nut trees, every one of which is useful for household purposes. The supply of large timber, however, comes generally from the *sál* forests of Nepál and the teak forests of Burmáh, with such clearings from the Chittagong hill-tracts and Upper Assam as can be floated down without difficulty.

The rivers of Bengal are many in number, and could not all be conveniently named. Among the great rivers which water the province of Behár are the Ganges, the Gográ, the Gunduck, the Kumlá, the Koosi, the Mahánandá, the Soane, and the Karumnássá. The table-land of Chotá Nágpore gives rise to several streams, among which are the Sooburnarekhá, the Dámoodar, the Dárkessur (which elsewhere becomes the Roopnáráin), and the Adjai. Orissá has the Mahánadi, the Bráhmani, and the Byturni. The western districts of Bengal Proper have, besides the Dámoodar, the Roopnáráin, and the Adjai, already named, the Selye, the Cossye, and the More. Cooch Behár has the Brahmapootra for about one hundred and twenty-five miles, and the Godádhur and the Teestá. Through the Rájsháhye division, besides the Ganges and the Teestá, run the Mahánandá, the Jamoonà, the Bhágirutty, and the Jellingy. In

the Presidency division are the Hooghly, the Mátábhángá, the Schámatti, and an immense number of smaller rivers, with all the openings on the sea-coast of the delta, among which are the Roy Mungul, the Mutláh, the Burra Pángá, the Pássur, the Horingottáh, and the Beeskhálli. The great rivers of Assam are the Brahmapootra, the Monáss, the Noánadi, the Bornadi, the Debang, the Debroo, the Desang, and the Difloo. In the Dáccá division are the Brahmapootra, the Pudmá, the Soormá (which afterwards becomes the Megná), the Booreegungá, the Lukhyá, the Dhullessari, and the Bánsi. In the Chittagong division are the Fenny, the Kurnofooli, the Sungoo, the Bogkháli, and the Dákátea.

Throughout the Behár districts the broad stream of the Ganges runs almost due west and east, dividing the country into two nearly equal portions, and receiving the tribute of all the rivers which rise in the Himálayá mountains, as well as of those which convey the drainage of the southern highlands. The outfall of the rivers which take their rise in the Chotá Nágpore hills is to the Hooghly river. Of the districts north of the Ganges, and of the whole of the central districts of Bengal Proper, the drainage is from north to south—all the rivers rising from the northern mountains emptying themselves into the main stream of the Ganges, while all the rivers which branch off from the Ganges are carried down by direct routes of their own to the sea. Of Eastern Bengal and Assam the outflow is by the Brahmapootra, the Pudmá, and the Megná, to which all the smaller streams bring their waters from almost every direction. The Chittagong rivers, and those of Orissá, have no connection with the drainage system described above. They are all isolated streams, and empty themselves directly into the sea. In almost all parts of the country, and especially in eastern Bengal, the rivers and creeks are the highroads of commerce throughout the best part of the year; and at the rainy season, when the whole of eastern Bengal is inundated, the eye wanders over a vast expanse of waters, broken only at intervals by arti-

ficially-raised village sites, which present from a distance the appearance of so many islands.

It should be here mentioned that the rivers of Bengal generally, and particularly those of the eastern districts, are subject to constant changes, which renders it difficult to trace them correctly, and produces a perplexing confusion of names. The soil is so light, and the waters in descending from the mountains acquire such force, that the rivers not only change their places by wearing out different portions of their banks, but are often altogether swept away from one place to reappear in another—several small channels sometimes combining to form one wide channel, or one wide channel splitting up into a number of small streamlets, each of which, of course, goes by a different name. This has been the source of great trouble to geographers, but the difficulty has only to be mentioned to be understood.

There are, also, numerous *bèels*, *jheels*, and marshes all over Bengal, especially in the districts of the Rájsháhye division and in Assam; but very few of these can properly be called lakes, a designation which carries with it an idea of beauty and poetry which they do not possess. There is one lake, called Brahmákoond, in Luckimpore; two lakes in Monghyr; and a few in Chumpárun and Sárun, being the former bed of an extensive river which seems to have flowed at some remote period through those districts. There are, also, the salt-water "lakes" (a misnomer for the most pestilential swamps we know of) in 24 Pergunnáhs, near Calcuttá; and there is the great Chilká lake in Pooree.

CHAPTER II.

PRODUCTS: CULTIVATED AND NATURAL.

BENGAL has long had the credit of embracing the richest and most populous districts of India—their riches consisting equally of natural productions and the fertility of the soil. In general terms, the agricultural products of Bengal may be said to comprise the three main divisions of (1) culmiferous plants, producing a stock or stem, such as rice, wheat, barley, millet, and *murrooáh* (*eleusine corocanus*); (2) leguminous grains, consisting of pulses, bearing the euphonic names of *kulye, khesári, moosur, moog, urhur, muttur, cholá*, &c.; and (3) oilseeds, such as mustard, sesamum, linseed, castor, &c. Besides these, there are the plants cultivated as vegetables for the table, of which the name is legion; those used as *masálás* or condiments; those cultivated for their saccharine juice; others for their fibres; others for extracting dyes; and others for being chewed or smoked. Of fruits, the variety is very great and the produce abundant, especially in Lower Bengal. The mineral products are coal, lime, iron, copper, slate, sandstone, laterite blocks, petroleum, and saltpetre. Of these, coal and lime only have been largely developed. Iron is found in several places, but is only produced in moderate quantities. Copper is known, and used to be worked in earlier times, but is not worked at present. Saltpetre is found in Behár, and has contributed much to augment the credit of the British artillery all over the world.

The principal rice-producing districts of Bengal are Backergunj, Mymensing, Dáccá, Furreedpore, and Sylhet, in the Dáccá division; Dinájepore, Rungpore, and Pubná, in the Rájsháhye division; Jessore and 24 Pergunnáhs in the Presidency division; Burdwán and Midnápore in the

Burdwán division; Sháhábád and Chumpárun in the Pátná division; and Purneáh in the Bhaugulpore division. The chief wheat-producing districts are Sháhábád, Sárun, and Chumpárun, in the Pátná division; Monghyr and Purneáh in the Bhaugulpore division; Midnápore in the Burdwán division; and Dinájepore in the Rájsháhye division. Oil-seeds grow most plentifully in Dinájepore and Purneáh, and in all the districts of the Chotá Nágpore and Cooch Behár divisions; sugar-cane in Chumpárun, Sháhábád, Monghyr, Midnápore, and Jessore; cotton in Mánbhoom, Singbhoom, and Julpigoorie; opium in Chumpárun, Sárun, and Sháhábád; tea in the Assam districts, and in Sylhet, Cáchár, and Dárjeeling; and indigo in Sárun, Chumpárun, Purneáh, Nuddeá, and Jessore.

It will be more convenient, perhaps, to notice the staple products of each province separately, with such explanatory details as may seem necessary. We would state here, in passing, that in some places the harvests are three in number, and in all others not less than two; that rice and some other grains are sown almost everywhere at the beginning of the rains, and reaped at their end; while wheat, barley, and the pulses generally, with a few particular kinds of rice, ripen during the winter, and are cut in the spring; and that the vegetation, principally in Lower Bengal, is so quick that the rice crop rises as fast as the water of the rains, so that the ear is never immersed—a single stalk sometimes growing nearly three or four inches in one night. The main divisions of the rice crop are two —*áous*, or the early rice, and *ámán*, or the winter rice; but the names vary in different places, being called *bhádoi* and *ágháni* in Behár, *beáli* and *sárud* in Orissá, and *áhoo* and *sáli* in Assam.

Rice everywhere is by far the most important crop even in Behár, and much attention is bestowed there on its cultivation. In husking, two different processes are used, the rice consumed by the higher castes being beaten out from the husk, while that used by the lower classes is cleaned out by boiling. Next to rice, the most important

crop is (*gum*) wheat, and after it (*job*) barley. Wheat and barley are often sown intermixed, and reaped together. The barley is not unfrequently eaten in the form of an unboiled pudding, seasoned with (*goor*) treacle. In some places *murrooáh* is reared; and maize and *janerá* are grown largely in the districts bordering on the Ganges. The only other important crops of Behár are gram, oats, and peas; minor pulses of different kinds—for many of which there are no English names; oilseeds, including *tisi* or linseed, *til* or sesamum, and *rehri* or castor; and condiments, such as onion, *jirá* (a carminative seed), *dhaniyá* or coriander, and the like. The vegetables cultivated are potatoes, pumpkins, brinjals, gourds, and *seem* or beans. The plants cultivated for making thread are cotton and flax. The plants and trees reared for saccharine juice are the palm and *mohowá* trees, and the sugar-cane. The *mohowá* yields good timber, and produces a fleshy flower from which spirit is distilled. It is also used as an article of food by the hill-tribes. The cultivation of sugar-cane is very extensive, it being used both fresh and for the extraction of sugar. *Koossum* or safflower, betel-leaf, tobacco, and opium, are also cultivated—the last to a considerable extent, under the auspices of a Christian Government, for the demoralization of a heathen nation. The betel-leaf grown in Behár is considered to be very superior, and is much liked by the exquisites of Calcuttá, Lucknow, and Benáres.

In Bengal Proper, rice is the chief article of food alike of rich and poor; and is necessarily the principal crop in almost every district—the varieties being multifarious. The most important are *áous*, *ámán*, and *roáh;* while in tidal districts there is a fourth large crop called *boro*. The coarsest kinds are those which grow in very low lands. These do not keep well long, acquiring a bad flavour by age; while the finer kinds remain in perfection for three or four years. As a rule, rice is always kept in the husk until it is required for use, or to be carried to market. The operation of cleaning it is performed by women, with the aid of a wooden lever, called the *dhenki*, which has a wooden

pestle surrounded by an iron hoop for beating out the grain. All the coarser kinds of rice are cleared out by boiling; but, as in Behár, the process is considered impure, and it is not lawful for a Bráhman, or a widow of any of the higher castes, to eat rice so cleaned, nor can it be offered to idols, or made any use of in religious ceremonies. Boiled rice is called *siddo;* unboiled rice, *álo*. The ordinary way of taking rice is after boiling it, the water being thrown away: but there are some dry preparations of it also, named *moori* and *cheera*, which are much used by the poorer classes—being sometimes eaten with the addition of a little oil and salt, oftener without either; and *khoi*, which mixed with molasses becomes *moorki*, and is largely eaten by all classes.

Wheat in the Bengal districts is but a small crop, and, unlike rice, which is always a full one, it is scanty. Along with wheat are sown mustard and (*moosur*) lentils. Barley is also cultivated in the same manner as wheat, but the yield is very inconsiderable. The pulses grow better, and are of the kinds known as *moog*, *kulye*, *máskulye*, *muttur*, *khesári*, and *cholá* or gram. They are all thrashed with a stick, as the native has no flail. The oil-producing plants grown are mustard, sesamum, and linseed; and, in some districts, castor also. The oilcake is used as food for cattle, and for manure.

Bengal is particularly rich in vegetables and fruits. The first go by the name of *torkári*, and besides the potato, pumpkin, gourd, and brinjal, named among the products of Behár, comprise the sweet potato, *potole* or *purwal*, *moola*, *kochoo*, *mánkochoo*, *woorchay*, *korola*, *koomra*, *kánkoor*, *jingay*, *dhoontool*, *kánchkolá*, *taitool* or tamarind, and a variety of greens and succulent roots, for all of which there are no English names. The fruits are mangoes, jacks, plantains, melons, water-melons, cocoa-nuts, guavas, almonds, wood-apples, custard-apples, star-apples, lichees, loquats, palms, areca-nuts, and dates. Of these the mango is decidedly the best; but the cocoa and areca nuts are the most useful. The milk and kernel of the cocoa-nut are used as food;

the former, when not very thick or pungent, being both cooling and digestive. The kernel, when it becomes hard, yields an oil in extensive use. The shell makes cups, and *hookás* for smoking tobacco. The bark is composed of fibres, from which valuable cordage and cable are manufactured. The whole fruit, in fact, is so valuable, that a legend attributes its creation to the sage Viswámitra, who, finding that the gods would create nothing better than man, tried his own hand at the work, desiring to form a being of a superior kind, who, he intended, should live on trees. The head only was formed, when the gods, getting alarmed, begged the sage to desist—agreeing to which, he converted what he had made into a fruit. The story is childish, but shows how the usefulness of the fruit is appreciated. The areca or betel-nut is almost nearly as useful, being much valued for its narcotic qualities. It produces a sense of exhilaration, accompanied by something like insensibility, and, together with spices, catechu, and lime, is chewed with the betel-leaf, which is pungent and aromatic. Bengal also produces spices and condiments—such as ginger, turmeric, chili, capsicum, onion, garlic, coriander, and aniseed —all of which are indispensable for the curry with which the boiled rice is eaten.

The plants cultivated for producing thread and cordage are jute and flax; the cultivation of cotton is very partial. Sugar-cane is raised extensively; and in some districts great pains are taken in manufacturing date-sugar. The sugar-cane, besides yielding sugar, also gives to the Bengali an ardent spirit called rum, which the Shástras very conveniently prohibit the twice-born (Bráhman) from using, leaving the rest at liberty, apparently, to do as they like. The other products of Bengal Proper are tobacco, hemp (*gánjá*), betel-leaf, indigo, safflower, and mulberry. *Gánjá* is chiefly grown in the Rájsháhye division. The cultivation of mulberry for the support of silkworms is not quite so considerable now as it used to be in past times, when the manufacture of silk was everywhere encouraged by the

Mahomedans; but it is still carried on successfully in several districts, particularly in Moorshedábád.

Of Dárjeeling, in the Cooch Behár division, the products of the highlands in the hills are tea, maize or Indian corn, millet, and pulses; of the lowlands, rice. In the terai are cultivated rice, tobacco, pulses, mustard, cotton, and tea. The adjoining district of Julpigoorie produces betel-nuts, barley, cotton, maize, rice, pulses, and sugar-cane.

The principal products of the table-land of Chotá Nágpore are maize, barley, oil-seeds, lac, *dhoona* or resin, silk, cotton, and tobacco. Sugar-cane is also cultivated, but in quantities barely sufficient for local consumption. Hemp and indigo are grown in Mánbhoom. As to other articles, it may be generally remarked both of the districts of the Chotá Nágpore division and of the western districts of Bengal, namely, Báncoorah, Beerbhoom, and Midnápore, including the Jungle Mehals, that the products approximate to those of the districts of Behár.

The main articles from Cuttack, in the Orissá division, are paddy, grains of various sorts, castor-seed, mustard, linseed, coriander, turmeric, garlic, tobacco, fibres, and cotton. Pooree produces rice, *murrooáh*, tobacco, pulses, and oil-seeds. Bálasore has paddy, pulses, tobacco, cotton, sugar-cane, and flax. In all the Orissá districts the rice grown is large and coarse; and they have little to boast of in the way of garden-produce beyond fruits of the commonest kinds, such as mango, jack, wood-apple, date, and guava. But Utkaldesa (the old name of Orissá) has been famous in all times for its abundant produce of *keorá* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), from which the lower orders distil an intoxicating spirit.

In the north-eastern corner, Assam produces rice of four different descriptions, of which *sálidhán*, or the transplanted winter rice, forms three-fourths of the crops. Next to rice, the most considerable crop is a kind of mustard called *vihár*; the quantity of sesamum grown is very inconsiderable; castor is grown to some extent in Gowálpáráh. Wheat,

barley, and millet are little used in this province, and are not grown. Of pulses very little was formerly used; but some are now eaten and reared, the most common being called *mátimás*. Black-pepper is reared to a great extent, a good deal of it passing out to countries further east. Long-pepper, ginger, turmeric, capsicum, onion, and garlic are also raised. Betel-leaf is grown all over the province, and every Assamese has his mouth stuffed with it at all times. Sugar-cane thrives, but most part of it is eaten fresh. Cotton is grown by the hill-tribes. The other products are tea, silk, lac, caoutchouc, and opium. The last is raised only for local consumption, and is much used. No less than four different kinds of silkworms are reared, and the different silks produced form the greater part of the clothing of the people. Of the Nágá hills, rice and tea are the chief products, and also cotton and sugar. The Khásiáh hills produce bees-wax, betel-nuts, cinnamon, caoutchouc, cotton, and stick-lac.

The details above given, in regard to the variety of its products, prove incontestably that the whole of Bengal—barring its jungles, swamps, and waste lands—is exceedingly well-cultivated, notwithstanding that the implements of agriculture used are yet of the rudest description. This is corroborated by a reference to the maritime trade returns, which exhibit to what extent the products, after meeting all the requirements of the country itself, are exported for the benefit of other countries. The statistics of the custom-house show that the most important commercial staple of the Presidency now is jute, which is entirely the produce of Bengal Proper, growing, it is believed, in no other part of the world. The value exported yearly is about five millions sterling. The export of cotton is also very great—amounting nearly to four millions; but this article comes by rail to Calcuttá from places beyond the limits of Bengal, the quantity produced in which is scarcely sufficient to meet its own wants. The real *boná fide* exports of Bengal, besides jute, are rice and indigo, each of which is exported to the value of about two and a half millions sterling; and also

tea, sugar, saltpetre, tobacco, and raw silks. Of manufactures Bengal has none to send out. The eastern portion of the country—namely, that long known by the name of Banga—was famous from the most ancient times for its fine cotton cloths, which, some nineteen hundred years ago, used to find their way to Rome, where they were highly prized as *kárpás*, the Bengali name for cotton. But the looms there have long ceased to work. The silk manufactures of Bengal were prized by the Mahomedan princesses of Delhi and Ágrá: the silk is yet produced, but the manufactories are now few in number. Absolutely, Bengal sends out nothing now but raw materials; her only manufactured exports consist of gunny-bags!

The mineral productions of Bengal are easily named, being everywhere very few in number. The rocks of Behár consist mainly of quartz, jasper, and hornstone; but in some places the stones are schistose or slaty—especially in Bhaugulpore and Sháhábád. The minerals are mica, nodular limestones, Glauber-salt, and saltpetre. Iron-ore is occasionally found in small masses lying loose at the bottom of the hills, and gold in the beds of some of the hill-streams; and in the plains soda effloresces on the surface of the earth in the neighbourhood of Nowádá, Sáhebgunj, Dáoodnugger, and Jehánábád. Potters' clay is also found in several places—especially at Colgong—which makes strong, rough, unglazed vessels. There are also mines of alum and saline wells; and in Bhaugulpore are hot springs, of which those at Sitákoond, near Monghyr, are well known.

The following story about the Sitákoond springs is related by the inhabitants in their neighbourhood with great unction and earnestness. Sitá, the wife of Ráma, having been carried off by Rávana, king of Lancá or Mahálancá (by some identified with Ceylon, by others with Malacca), Ráma besieged Lancá, and succeeded in defeating and slaying the ravisher and in recovering his wife. But Rávana was a Bráhman, and the law required that the crime of Bráhman-murder should be expiated. The sages

advised Ráma to apply to the gods for purification, and he started in search of them, carrying his wife and brothers with him. The gods were met with at the site of the hot springs, and the offerings made to them by Ráma and his brothers were accepted; but those made by Sitá were rejected, because they suspected that she had lost her virtue with Rávana. To allay a similar suspicion on the part of her husband, Sitá had already undergone a fiery ordeal; but the gods demanded another, and the heroic lady at once threw herself into a pit of fire, from which she came forth unscathed, a spring of hot water coming out, as it does now, in her wake. The evidence is so clear and conclusive, that there ought to be no demur on the part of our readers to accept the story. The other springs in the neighbourhood are named after Ráma and his brothers.

Bengal Proper, generally, is not a very interesting province for the mineralogist; but the Burdwán district forms a signal exception, almost all the coal procurable in Bengal being from the mines at Ráneegunj. The total number of coal-mines at work there is about fifty, the out-turn of coal amounting to about two million tons. A little iron is also found in Burdwán, and in the hills to the west of Midnápore; more of it is found in Dárjeeling, where there are also mines of copper. In minute quantities gold, too, has been found in the river-sands in Midnápore; and in Cáchár there is a tradition that the Sonái, which falls into the Barak between Silchár and Luckimpore, used to wash down gold-dust from the hills, though none has been found within the memory of any man now living. The other minerals of Bengal are: lime-quarries in Sylhet and Dárjeeling, ghooting-lime in the districts of the Burdwán division, and petroleum springs in Sylhet.

The mineral products of the Chotá Nágpore division are coal in Mánbhoom, iron in Házáreebágh, and copper in Singbhoom. Gold is found in small quantities in the deposits broken up by the action of the Sánk, Károo, and other small rivers; but the out-turn of the washings does not repay the cost of labour. In Orissá, limestone is found

in Cuttack; while the low laterite hills of Pooree furnish good building-stones. Assam has plenty of lime and coal in the Khásiáh and Jynteáh hills; iron is also met with in Kámroop, and petroleum in Luckimpore.

Among the natural productions of Bengal may be enumerated the animals and birds which abound in the several provinces, but any notice of them here must be simply episodical and very brief. In Behár, among the bare rocky hills, is to be found the black bear, which climbs trees with the greatest facility, drinks palm-wine, and eats mangoes and sugar-cane—of course, in every case, destroying more than it consumes. The badger, the ichneumon, the mouse-cat, and the otter, also commit much injury in the same way, and are to be found everywhere. The tiger is seldom seen, but exists in the wilds of Nowádá, and in different parts of Purneáh. Hares and deer of various kinds are numerous, and also the lively striped squirrel. Wild hogs are occasionally met with, and monkeys—being about equally mischievous in the devastation of crops. Wild elephants, which are still more dreaded, are only found in the neighbourhood of the Rájmahal hills. Of birds of prey there are several kinds, but they do little harm. A great variety of excellent water-fowl abounds in the reservoirs and pools of Behár, but they are very little sought after. The most destructive birds to the crops are the several species of cranes which abound in the cold season.

In the Chotá Nágpore division the wild animals are nearly the same as those in Behár. The bear is more frequent, and leopards and hyenas abound. There are also several species of deer; and honey-bees are numerous. In Orissá are fine buffaloes, and these are in many places domesticated for their milk. In the hill-tracts are to be found leopards, bears, deer, and hogs, and also the wild-ox denominated *gyál*, a ferocious beast of immense size.

Bengal is the home of the royal tiger, which lives in the Soonderbuns and in the Dárjeeling terai. In the eastern districts, including Assam, the wild elephant and the rhinoceros are known—both quite resistless to a people unac-

customed to the use of firearms; but fortunately these animals, for the most part, prefer to live in very sequestered places, far from the haunts of men. The wild hog, the monkey—both of the short and the tall species—and the wild buffalo, are also common; and the jackal abounds all over Bengal, being more numerous and noisy in it than in any other part of the world. According to native notions, the jackal howls at the end of every watch of the night. This wretched animal is said to be the second cousin of the tiger; but how the relationship is established is not explained. At night, a native of the poorer classes hearing the tiger's growl will only speak of the animal by the name of *siyál* (jackal), being afraid that if mentioned by his own name the tiger would find him out and devour him. The jackal is supposed to follow in the wake of the tiger. He is also accused of thieving, and of carrying off clothes, money, and several other things which can be of no use to him. The zoology of Bengal includes, further, the hare, porcupine, ichneumon, otter, and several species of antelope. The domestic animals throughout the Presidency are: horses, or rather ponies, of indigenous breed, used for the purposes of locomotion; asses, employed as beasts of burden, especially by washermen; buffaloes and bullocks, utilized as draught-cattle—elephants being also used by rich people for carrying heavy baggage; and cows and buffaloes, kept for milk and butter. There is no country in the world where the cattle of the cow kind are more valued; but farming is little understood, and the sale of cows is regarded as very shameful by men of rank and caste. Goats and sheep count prominently among the domestic animals reared by the lower classes, but the higher classes generally have nothing to do with them: the shepherds and others weave blankets from the wool. By the very lowest castes swine also are reared.

The birds of Bengal Proper comprise an immense variety of vultures, kites, and hawks. The peacocks are beautiful to look at, but are a great nuisance, and do considerable damage to crops—the Italian estimate of the bird being

very accurate, that "it has the plumage of an angel, the voice of the devil, and the stomach of a thief." There are also cranes, paroquets, partridges, quails and snipes, and swarms of water-fowl. The domestic birds are pigeons of different kinds, which are much petted, being sacred as birds of good luck; also sparrows and crows—the last unmatched by any of their species elsewhere for familiarity and audacity.

We now come to fishes, inquiry regarding which is being made by the Government. In the Behár districts, porpoises are numerous in the Ganges, but no one pursues them either for meat or oil. Tortoises also abound, but are scarcely saleable, as none of the castes living near the river will eat them. Crocodiles are common; but fish during the greater part of the year is scarce, and mostly of very poor quality: and this remark is equally applicable to the districts of the Chotá Nágpore division. The fish of the Soane river is of the best flavour, but very difficult to catch. In the rainy season the violence of the current is too great for the fisherman to breast it, and in the dry season the stream is so shallow and clear that the imperfect methods of capture used by him are quite inadequate. Most of the other rivers are mere torrents, and the supply they furnish is trifling. There are fisheries, however, in the pools and reaches of the rivers in the interior, and in reservoirs and *beels;* but the trade is not a thriving one, and very few fishermen live the whole year by their profession.

In Bengal Proper, fish forms by far the greater part of the animal food consumed in the country. The demand is very considerable, and the supply barely equal to it, except in the neighbourhood of the larger rivers, where it is abundant. Fish is also abundant in Assam. In both provinces the whole of the fish caught is consumed in the country. No methods of curing are known, besides salting, and salted fish is not eaten by all castes in Bengal. The varieties of fish are too many to be named; but there is nothing like an extensive fishery of any kind, except in some of the eastern districts. The principal fresh-water

fishes of Bengal Proper are the *rooi*, the *kátlá*, the *hilsá*, and the mango-fish; the last being the most agreeable. In inland pools and reservoirs are found the *bheckty* or cockup (commonly called the salmon of the East), and a lot of other small fishes not wanting in flavour. The *mágoor* and the *koi* especially abound in still-water all over the country, and are much sought for by the natives. Crabs also are plentiful, but are considered impure by several classes. In Moorshedábád, pearl-shells of a trifling value are found in a *beel* named Bhándardaha, which is the only pearl-fishery in Bengal, and the pearls taken out are sold in the *bazaárs*. The Soonderbun creeks, as well as many other rivers elsewhere, which teem with fish, also swarm with sharks and alligators; and serpents in Bengal are more numerous and dangerous than, perhaps, in any other part of the world.

In Orissá, the sea all along the coast yields abundance of fine fish, including the mango-fish, the sable-fish, the mullet, and the whiting; and also turtles, oysters, crabs, and prawns: and very good *bheckty* is found in the Chilká lake. The great season for fishing on the sea-coast is in the winter months, when the winds and surf are both moderate. The nets are set up in the form of triangles, and the quantity of fish obtained at each haul is prodigious.

CHAPTER III.

TRADITIONS OF THE HINDU PERIOD.

In most of the old Hindu accounts the province of Bengal is described as consisting of five distinct divisions, named respectively, Anga, Banga, Mithila, Magadha, and Gour.* Mithila corresponds with modern Tirhoot, and included all the country north of the Ganges which lies between the mouth of the Gográ and the Koosi, and adjoined to the dominions of the Goorkhá, possibly extending over a portion of what is now comprised therein. Anga adjoined to Thibet, and apparently included both Sikkim and Bootán, and all the Bengal districts lying between the Koosi and the Brahmapootra. All the country south of the Ganges, from Mithila to the Vindyá mountains, was Magadha. Gour comprehended the well-known city of that name, and all the country south of Anga to the sea. Beyond these four divisions, on the east of the Brahmapootra and the Pudmá, was the country called Banga, from which Bengal derives its name, and which seems to have included the districts of Gowálpárah and Kámroop, though not the rest of Assam. Some authorities make Gowálpárah and Kámroop a part of Anga, but apparently by mistake.

Bengal has no historical records of the olden times, any more than any other part of India. The war celebrated in the *Mahábhárut* is the one great standpoint from which we start; and, after all, that has only a poem for its basis—of considerable merit certainly, but of very doubtful historic

* This division does not agree with another equally well known, according to which the several parts of Bengal are named Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Pandra, and Utkal. But we cannot stop to reconcile these discrepancies at the outset.

authority. The other traditions which exist, are based mainly on Pouránic legends, and give us the names of several princes, and, in some cases, the history of their amours and crimes; but there is nothing in them which the historic student would care to remember, and they scarcely throw any light on the real character of the ages they speak of. We must, however, make the most of them we can, as there are absolutely no better accounts to refer to.

The country named Mithila was founded by a king of that name, who was the grandson of Ikshwáku; but the name of Janaka, the son of Mithila, eclipsed that of the founder, and became the patronymic of this branch of the Solar race. This celebrity, Janaka, acquired as the father of Sitá, the wife of Ráma, the most favourite heroine of Hindu story. After the battle of Kuru-kshetra, Bheem, the second of the Pándavas, is said to have become sovereign of both Mithila and Nepál; but the tales regarding the Pándavas are contradictory, and another account says that all the Pándavas except the eldest, Yudisthira, perished in the snow. The tradition current in Mithila itself, and still more so in Nepál, is that Bheem, in proceeding towards the snowy mountains, was benumbed with cold, upon which a pious Yogi, named Gorucknáth, sheltered and saved him, and afterwards helped him to the sovereignty of the hills. But Bheem left no heirs, and after his death the kingdom was split up into petty principalities. At a subsequent date the Pál rájáhs of Delhi possessed the whole of Mithila, but no records of their rule are now extant. Still later, the country appears to have been held by a king named Hari Singha, a Rájpoot, in whose time the Brahmans in it were classified into four ranks, named Sroti or Sooti, Májroti, Jagya, and Grihástha, the distinctions being founded on merit and profession, though they have now become hereditary. After this, Mithila was annexed to Gour, in the twelfth century of the Christian era, under the dynasty of Ádisoor. In Mithila the names of Ádisoor and his successors are little known—probably because the country remained imme-

diately subject to petty chiefs or local governors originally appointed by the dynasty which preceded that of Ádisoor.

Anga, or Angadesa, was founded by Anga, a son of Boodh or Buddha, the son of Soma and grandson of Atri. This country, therefore, belonged to the Lunar race. Lompada, a prince of Angadesa, is mentioned in the *Rámáyana;* and the *Mahábhárut* alludes to Prithu Sen of Anga, as one of the actors and survivors of the battle of Kuru-kshetra. Of its subsequent sovereigns the traditions are few and unaccordant. Virhat Ráják of the *Mahábhárut,* Bali Ráják, a *daitya,* and his son Bán Ráják, appear all, at some time or other, to have ruled over the lower portion of the country, which in time came to be annexed to the kingdom of Gour in common with other states which were absorbed by it. This portion would comprise the districts of Purneáh, Dinájepore, and Rungpore. With Dinájepore are connected some tales of Ráma and his wife, the latter having retired to this district on being discarded by her husband. Here she dwelt with the sage Válmik, the author of the *Rámáyana,* and was delivered of her son Lava, the saint giving her a second, named Kusa, when the first, who had hid himself, was not forthcoming. Dinájepore is also famous as the country over which ruled Bali, the *daitya* aforesaid, who, having opposed the worship of the gods, was by them sent to hell. This Bali was the father of Ráják Bán, or Bánasur, who worshipped Siva and introduced the Charak festival. As a worshipper of Siva, Bán was opposed to Krishna, whose grandson, Oniroodha, wooed his daughter Oosha. The angry father having captured the lover, placed him in confinement; whereupon Krishna waged a war, the result of which was that Oniroodha was released and married to his sweetheart. Dinájepore is again famous as the country of Virhat Ráják, to whom we have alluded. The mother of Virhat, says the fable, was impregnated by a fish, which accounts for the country he ruled over being called Matsyadesa, or the country of the fish king. Rungpore is the place where Virhat Ráják kept his horses, from which circum-

stance it derives its name of Ghorághát, or the place for horses.

The whole of modern Behár, *minus* the districts north of the Ganges, with nearly the whole of the Chotá Nágpore division, were included in the ancient kingdom of Magadha. This extensive dominion belonged to Jarásandhá, of the Lunar race, who is represented as an *asoor* or *daitya*, descended from the *asoors* who had warred with the gods. His birth was marvellous. His father had two wives, who, after having long been barren, bore two halves of a boy, which, being regarded with horror, were thrown out. The halves were put together by a Rákshasi, named Jará, that they might be more easily carried off, upon which a whole boy was formed. The boy began to cry out lustily, and was rescued from the hands of the demon, after whom he was named. He afterwards grew so vast in size that when he stood on two hills, with a foot on each, he could from Magadha descry the wives of Krishna bathing naked on the sea-coast of Guzerát! Nor were the ladies simply overlooked; they were also insulted and pelted at, which forced Krishna to send Bheem, the Ajax of the Pándavas, to fight with Jarásandhá, who was vanquished and killed. One account makes Jarásandhá the founder of the Magadha throne, while another asserts that his ancestors reigned on it from the time of Vrihadrátha, after whom the dynasty was named. The real cause of the enmity between Krishna and Jarásandhá was that the former had dethroned and killed the son-in-law of the latter—namely Kangsa, king of Mathoorá. Krishna was at first obliged to fly before the avenging army of old Sandhá, and it was only by afterwards making common cause with the Pándavas that he was able to subdue him. Jarásandhá was succeeded by his son Sahadeva. One of the successors of the latter was Ájuta Satru, in whose reign Sákya Muni expounded the doctrines of Buddhism. The direct line of Jarásandhá terminated in twenty-three descents, with Ripoonjaya, who was murdered. It is said of this last-named prince that he assumed the title

of *Vivasphurji*, the thunder of the world, and that he exterminated the barons from his empire on their becoming very troublesome, and filled their places with people from the humblest classes. He also drove away the Bráhmans, and raised to the priesthood men of the lowest castes, such as boatmen and fishermen. He is on all hands admitted to have been a great and powerful ruler; but the changes effected by him were not liked, and he had to pay the usual penalty for such dislike in the East.

The traditions above noticed do not account for the name of Magadha, which does not appear to have been derived either from Vrihadrátha, Jarásandhá, or any of their successors, or from Krishna or Bheem. The original name of the country was Cicata. It was called Magadha after the Magas, or Sákádwipa Bráhmans (the same as the Magi of Persia), who were persuaded by Krishna to settle in it. By Sákádwipa is understood Scythia, Jámbudwipa being the classical name of India. The first Sákádwipa Bráhman was brought to Jámbudwipa accidentally on the back of Vishnu's eagle (*Garura*), and ever after a great *penchant* for these Bráhmans was the foible of all Hindu kings. The *Rámáyana* says that Dasarath, the father of Ráma, invited the Sákádwipa Bráhmans to a great feast where many Munis and persons of the sacred order were assembled, and then sent them home—that is, back to Scythia—loaded with presents. Krishna invited them on one of his sons, Sámba, being afflicted with leprosy—it being foretold that he could only be cured by drinking the water in which the Sákádwipa Bráhmans had washed their feet. The cure was effected, and the holy men were persuaded to stay; and to the present day it is not unusual to see Hindu sinners, and those afflicted with stubborn disorders, drinking the water in which devout Bráhmans have dipped their toes. Another account says that Sámba himself brought over the Magas to officiate as priests of the sun, there being no fit priests in his day in Jámbudwipa. The descendants of the Sákádwipa Bráhmans now in Behár include several men of learn-

ing, and their customs entirely resemble those related of the pure learned Bráhmans who, in later times, were brought by Ádisoor from Kanouj.

Approximately, the Vrihadráthas, or the family of Jarásandhá, reigned in Magadha from B.C. 1470 to B.C. 700, or a little short of eight hundred years. They were followed first by the family of Prádyota (the son of Sunaka, the murderer of Ripoonjaya), which reigned for about three hundred years, and then by that of Nanda, or Mahánanda, who ascended the throne in B.C. 355, and was contemporaneous with Alexander the Great, who respected him. The reign of Nanda was cut short by his minister Sákátara, the lover of his second wife Mura; but the succession was secured by the nine sons of the murdered king, who were all named Nanda, or the Sumályadicas, and who fixed their seat of government at Padmávati, since called Pátná. Eventually, all these brother-princes were overthrown by Chandragupta, the son of Mura and Sákátara, who ascended the throne in B.C. 315, the name of his capital being at the same time altered to Palibothrá, or Pátaliputra, which is held to be identical with Padmávati or Pátná. Chandragupta is admitted on all hands to have been one of the greatest sovereigns that ever ruled in India. It was in his reign that Seleucus Nicator attempted an invasion of the country, but gave up the idea on perceiving the preparations made to receive him, concluding an alliance with the king of Magadha, to whom he gave one of his daughters in marriage, while he sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to his court. The third in succession to Chandragupta was Asoka, who is held in great repute by the Buddhas of all countries as having been one of the most zealous promoters of their religion. He is said to have maintained in his palace sixty-four thousand Buddhist priests, and to have erected eighty-four thousand edict or boundary columns throughout India. The other names given to him are *Pryadarsi*, or the beautiful to look at, and *Devanampriya*, or the beloved of the gods.

About two hundred years after Christ the Gangetic provinces were governed by the Andhras, several of whom

resided chiefly in the Bhaugulpore district, though considerable monuments of their power are to be traced among the ruins of Barágáon, in the vicinity of Behár. This dynasty was very powerful, and reigned for about eight hundred years. It was divided into three distinct branches of (1) the pure and genuine Andhras; (2) the Andhra Jaticas, a spurious branch of the family; and (3) the Andhra Bhrityas, or servants of the Andhras, who divided the kingdom among themselves on the extinction of the royal line. The first branch was terminated in A.D. 436, and the second in 648; upon which the third, better known as the Pál dynasty, stepped in. The usual residence of the last branch of the Andhra race was beyond the limits of Bengal, though several inscriptions acknowledging their power have been found in different parts of the Presidency. The latest Hindu prince of any consequence in Behár was one named Indradyamna, who, unable to contend with the Mahomedans, fled to Orissá; but this was not the Indradyamna who founded the worship of Jagganáth. From this period till the English obtained the government of Magadha, the greater part of the province was in a constant state of anarchy. Indeed, some of the aboriginal tribes seem never to have been completely reduced even in the time of the Hindu rájáhs, and it is certain that the Mahomedans never obtained in Behár any but a precarious and irregular obedience.

The kings of Magadha, from Jarásandhá down to the end of the Andhra dynasty, were, according to some accounts, the lords-paramount of all India; but this has not been very clearly established. It is only certain that they were lords-paramount over the eastern portion of India—that is, over all Bengal; and this explains why several of the Andhra kings, and among them notably the king named Karna Daharya, are also named as kings of Anga.

We would here notice as very remarkable, that of the dynasties we have named, the first only (namely, that of Jarásandhá) was of the Kshetriya caste: the second (that

of Prádyota), and the third (that of Nanda) being Sudra; the fourth (that of Chandragupta) being Barnasankar, or casteless; and the fifth and subsequent ones all Sudras again. The common notion that the Sudras and Barnasankars are born only to serve, was therefore apparently, even in the ages we are speaking of, not always honoured in the observance. The fact is, the book-theory of the Shástras was never anywhere current in practice; and besides that, Magadha was for ages the seat of the Buddhas, whereas caste is an institution of the Bráhmans. Prákrita, or Magadhi, was the language of Magadha, and is still the language of the sacred literature of the Buddhas and the Jains.

Among the traditions connected with Magadha may be mentioned those relating to the districts of Bhaugulpore and Monghyr. The former derives its name from Bhagadatta, king of Kámroop, who encamped in it when on his way to the assistance of Duryodhun, whose side he took in the battle of Kuru-kshetra. Some accounts mention that Jarásandhá gave this district (then called Malini) to Karna, the son of Kunti and half-brother of the Pándavas, and that it remained for many generations in the possession of his descendants. Possibly the Andhra kings, who were also called Karnas, were the descendants of *the* Karna of the *Mahábhárut;* but of this there is no proof. The supposition is open to this objection, that the Pándavas were Kshetriyas, to which race their half-brother most probably belonged, while the Andhra rájáhs were Sudras.

Monghyr, or Mudgulgurh, derives its name from Mudgul, one of the five sons of Viswámitra, who was contemporaneous with Jarásandhá, and is said to have held this part of the country independent of his authority, probably as a free gift, like that of Bhaugulpore to Karna. No further particulars in regard to Mudgul are, however, available; and, in other accounts, we read that Monghyr was the seat of Jarásandhá's strongest fort or jail, so that, after all, Mudgul perhaps only held the office of jailor under the old *daitya* king.

Gour appears on the historical board just after Magadha disappears from it. Of its earlier history we have no account; but the city of Gour is supposed to have been the most ancient in all Bengal, and one of the most magnificent in all India. Tradition speaks of a Bodhá Sing, who was king of Gour and also of Benáres. Another great king of Gour was named Bhoo Pál, whose sons, Sthira Pál and Basanta Pál, erected sumptuous monuments in Benáres, of which the ruins are still shown; and there are vague surmises of the Pál rájáhs of Gour having at some time or other conquered all the Gangetic provinces up to Benáres. If the Pál rájáhs of Gour and the Andhra Bhrityas of Magadha were identical, as appears to be not unlikely, it would not be altogether wrong to infer that Gour was, at least from A.D. 200, a dependency of the Magadha empire. This certainly was its position after the extinction of the Pál dynasty, when Gour seems to have paid tribute to Magadha. But Gour was also the only part of Magadha that survived its extinction; and under the Ádisoor dynasty it became the largest and most powerful of the divisions of Bengal.

The reign of Ádisoor corresponds with the eleventh century of the Christian era; but precise dates, as in the case of the Magadha kings, are not available. The capital of Ádisoor was Soobornográm (commonly called Sonárgong) or the City of Gold, which stood some thirteen miles to the south-west of the present site of Dáccá. Gour was also one of his chief seats, and of great importance from its position near the western boundary of his dominions, and as having been the capital of his predecessors; and to it one of his successors, Lakhman Sen, seems to have again removed the seat of government. A third city, also on the west, but nearer to the sea, was Sátgong, or Saptagrám, which means seven villages, of which, doubtless, the city was originally composed. This place was near Hooghly. The site still exists; it is a petty village now, but was famous in ancient times as the great port of Bengal. All these circumstances indicate that Ádisoor was a king of

considerable power; but he has, nevertheless, been principally remembered only for having imported five pure Bráhmans from Kánya-kubja, or Kanouj, when he found the stock in Bengal to have deteriorated.

The names of the immediate successors of Ádisoor are not known. One of them, probably the third or fourth, was Bejay Sen, whose wife had a son named Bullál Sen, who was said to have been begotten by a Bráhman, or, as the legend has it, by the river Brahmapootra in the form of a Bráhman. It was this Bullál Sen who regulated the different castes of Bengal, including the descendants of the Bráhmans whom Ádisoor had brought over from Kanouj, who seem to have multiplied immensely within the hiatus of three or four reigns of which no information has come down to us. Bullál was succeeded by Lakhman Sen, who ruled with great vigour, and annexed Mithila, the lower part of Anga, and a great part of Banga, to his dominions. At the end of his reign the kingdom of Gour is said to have consisted of five parts, named (1) Bárendra, (2) Banga, (3) Bágree, (4) Rárh, and (5) Mithila. The names Mithila and Banga will be remembered as those of two of the old divisions to which we have referred—though Banga, as a part of Gour, did not include the Assam districts of Gowálpáráh and Kámroop. Bárendra appears as a new name for Anga, *minus* Sikkim and Bootán. Bágree was that portion of Gour Proper which was bounded on the west by the Bhágirutty river, on the north and east by the Pudmá, and on the south by the sea. Rárh formed the remaining portion of Gour, and extended from the Bhágirutty to the borders of Magadha. At this time, therefore, the family of the Sens ruled not only over Gour Proper, but over the whole of Bengal, with the exception of Magadha and such outlying extremities as Assam and Chittagong. But this greatness was exceedingly short-lived. Lakhman Sen was succeeded by Mudoo Sen, he by Kessub Sen, he by Su Sen, he by another Lakhman Sen, with whom the dynasty terminated, the empire passing into the hands of the Mahomedans.

Gour included Rájmahal, which was a place of note in great antiquity—Balarám, the brother of Krishna, having, after his wars with Bánasur, here built his *rájagriha*, which is distinct from the *rájagriha* of Jarásandhá in Pátná. The place was thence called Rájmahal; but there are no further traditions about it, or of the hero referred to in connection with it. In after-times, Rájáh Mán Sing, governor of Bengal, selected the site for his residence, but fearing the intolerance of the emperor, called the new town which he constructed, Akbarnugger, after his sovereign liege-lord, till time restored to the ruins their old Hindu name.

Of Banga, the historical and traditional reminiscences are few. Of the lower portion—namely, that forming the Dáccá division of the present day—there are no accounts distinct from those of Gour, with which it was incorporated in the days of Ádisoor and his descendants. The upper portion comprised the districts of Gowálpárah and Kámroop, which were never conquered by the Sens. The old accounts represent this territory, which was then known by the name of Kámikheya, as divided into four *piths*, or portions, named respectively *Karma Pith*, *Ratna Pith*, *Moni Pith*, and *Joni Pith*. Further explanation in regard to them is not necessary beyond this, that the Hindus to this day regard the country as the principal seat of amorous pleasures, where Siva had spent his honeymoon with Párvati. It belonged at one time to Naraka, the great adversary of Krishna in this part of India, whose son Bhagadatta has been already mentioned as one of the heroes on the losing side in the battle of Kuru-kshetra. Bhagadatta fell by the hand of Arjun, the Achilles of the Pándavas, but twenty-three princes of the family continued to govern Kámroop in succession after his death. About the end of the first century after Christ, a Sudra dynasty came into power in it, the first rájáh bearing the name of Deviswara, and being of the Kybarta caste. He won great renown by introducing the worship of Kámeswari, the goddess of sexual love! One of his successors was named Prithu, and is said to have been a very holy personage. In

his reign there was an irruption of *kichoks*, or gipsies, of whose impurity he was so afraid that he threw himself into a tank and was drowned.

In the western parts of Kámikheya—*i.e.*, in Gowálpárah—a branch of the Pál family is said to have reigned at the time when that family was dominant all over India. The first of the dynasty was Dharma Pál. He was succeeded by his nephew Gopi Chandra, who for some time gave himself up entirely to pleasures, to enjoy which fully he married a hundred wives. He was, however, soon satiated, and dedicating the remainder of his life to religion, abdicated in favour of his son, the celebrated Hobo Chandra, who had Gobo Chandra for his minister, stories regarding the stupidity of which two are rife all over Bengal. The family of the Páls was succeeded by that of the Khyens, who adopted Hindu names and the title of Komoteswar; but the power of the dynasty was of brief duration, as both Gowálpárah and Kámroop passed under the Mahomedan yoke from the hands of the third ráját, named Nilámbar, who, having suspected his wife of infidelity, and detecting her lover in a young Bráhman, the son of his prime-minister, had him killed and dressed up for his father's table. To revenge this, the minister invited over the Mahomedans, who took possession of the country in A.D. 1220.

The eastern districts of Assam were from very ancient times held by a race of hill-men known by the name of Chutiás, who were reduced by the Sháns in A.D. 777. The first Shán king was Sámlongfá; but a regular kingdom was not formed till the reign of Chutoofá, who, in 1228, first assumed for himself and his people the name of Áhom, or the peerless, which has been since corrupted into Assam. In 1554, the then king of the country, Chátomfá, adopted the Hindu religion, and with it the name of Jaydhaj Sing; and this precedent was followed by all his successors. The subsequent history of the country is a history of constant internal feuds and dissensions, notwithstanding which the Áhoms were always powerful enough to repel the Maho-

medan invasions directed against them from time to time. The Áhom districts of Assam never became Mahomedan. They maintained their independence till 1810, when the internal quarrels having reached their culminating point, one of the parties invited the Burmese to their aid. The result was, that the Burmese took possession of the country on their own account, and kept it till they came into collision with the English, when, at the end of the Burmese war, Assam became a province of the British empire.

The division we have recognised at the outset does not include Orissá as a part of Bengal, probably because at the time when it was laid down Orissá formed a part of Central India. But we have referred to another division in a footnote which distinctly names Utkaldesá as belonging to Bengal, and Orissá is too important a portion of it now to be ignored. Its pretensions to antiquity are very great, as it has for ages been regarded as the holy-land of the Hindus, to which year after year thousands of pilgrims flock from all parts of India. The *Mahábhárut* alludes to it as a kingdom of power, which sent assistance to Duryodhun in the great war. The traditions of the country count four ancient dynasties of rulers, named respectively, *Narapatis, Aswapatis, Chatrapatis,* and *Gajapatis;* but of three of these no details are known. Among the older kings is named one Kramáditya, a son of Vikramáditya, king of Avanti (Oujein); and shortly after his reign, an invasion of Javanas is mentioned, and the flight of Jagganáth, which probably refers to the wars between the Bráhmans and the Buddhas, as no records exist of any outside invasion at this time. In the wars of Prithu Ráj, king of Delhi, a king of Udyadesa, named Bhoja, is said to have taken part; and it does appear, from divers accounts, that just before the advent of the Mahomedans, and for some time after it, the Ooryáh rájáhs were unusually powerful. Of the *Gajapati* line there were apparently different branches, two of which, the *Kesari-bangsa* and the *Gungá-bangsa,* are mentioned by name. The most illustrious prince of the latter race was Anang Bheem Deo, who is

reported to have extended his conquests in every direction, and to have consolidated his empire with great ability and vigour. After the decline of the Magadha empire, the kings of Orissá extended their conquests on the north so as to encroach on the districts of Midnápore and Hooghly; and we know that Orissá retained its independence long after the other provinces of Bengal had succumbed to the Mahomedan power. The last independent king of Orissá was Telingá Mookond Deo, the northern limit of whose dominion was Treebani, on the banks of the Hooghly. It was in his reign, in 1568, that Solimán, king of Bengal, sent his general Kálápáhár to conquer Orissá. Kálápáhár was by birth a Bráhman, but was enticed away from his faith by a Mahomedan princess, whom he had inflamed with a violent passion for him. He eventually married her; and then, taking service under the Afghán king, proceeded to Orissá, to wage a war of extermination against idols. The whole of Orissá was overrun by him, and the idols destroyed, Jagganáth only being rescued after having been set on fire. The race of the *Gajapatis* was now dethroned, and has since dwindled down to a petty zemindár, the rajáh of Khoordáh.

CHAPTER IV.

REMINISCENCES OF THE MAHOMEDAN ERA.

THE Mahomedan conquest of Bengal dates from the time of Buktyár Khiliji, a soldier of fortune, who was so ill-favoured that he had the greatest difficulty in getting into service. He was at last, in A.D. 1199, appointed by the Emperor Kuttubudeen to the command of an army collected for the conquest of Behár. In this undertaking he was successful, upon which he was appointed governor of Behár, in 1202, with orders to extend his conquest over all the neighbouring territories. The dynasty of Bullál Sen still occupied the throne of Gour; but the proximity of the Mahomedans not being very agreeable, the seat of government was removed to Nuddea. Here the rájáh, named Lakhman II., or Lakhmaniya, was attacked by the intrepid Khiliji, but succeeded in eluding him and in escaping to Jagganáth, leaving his kingdom at the mercy of the conqueror.

Bengal was entirely subdued by Buktyár in the course of a year, and the seat of government removed back to Gour. The distance of Gour from Delhi emboldened the conqueror to declare himself independent; and he ordered the *kootbhá* to be read in his own name, and the lands of the Hindus to be distributed among his Khiliji chiefs, which gives a clear insight into the character of the Mahomedan rule from its very commencement. In 1204, Buktyár proceeded to conquer Assam, but was there defeated and killed. Fifteen viceroys ruled after him in Bengal up to 1343, of whom four, besides Buktyár, expressly disowned the emperor's authority—namely, Áli Murdan, Ghyásudeen, Mulik Oozbeg, and Togril. This should be remembered as an important feature of the Mahomedan rule in Bengal—

namely, the constant revolt of those in power. When Toghán Khán was governor, a rival started up in the person of Timour Khán, who had been sent by the emperor to assist the governor against the Hindus; and the two Mahomedans fought out their differences, much to the amusement of their Hindu subjects, till one of them (Toghán Khán) was slain. Here, again, is an additional feature of the anarchy and confusion that were frequent. Of all the governors of the first period of dependence, Ghyásudeen was the only one who ruled well. He is said to have made no distinction between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and to have been a great benefactor to the country. He was also very powerful, for he made the rájáhs of Assam, Tirhoot, and Tipperáh pay tribute. The last governor of the first period was Bakarrá Khán, otherwise called Násirudeen, whose son Keikobád was emperor of Delhi.

In 1293, Keikobád was murdered, and a new dynasty ascended the imperial throne; and six years after, in 1299, a separate capital for the south-eastern districts of Bengal was selected in Sonárgong, the old city of Ádisoor. The court of Delhi, by thus dividing Bengal into two parts, hoped to render it more subservient to the imperial government than it had hitherto been; but this expectation was not realized. Up to 1340, Bengal continued under two governors, one located at Gour and the other at Sonárgong —the latter being almost always in revolt. In 1343, one Fakirudeen usurped the government of Sonárgong, and gaining over the troops to his side, declared himself independent sovereign of all Bengal. But he was not successful in mastering the whole country; nor did he enjoy his power long, being, shortly after his declaration of independence, taken prisoner before Gour and put to death. He was succeeded by Mobárik Áli, and he by Shumsudeen, by whom he was assassinated. The assassin proved to be a vigorous ruler, and became really the first independent king of Bengal. The era of the first line of Mahomedan viceroys extended from 1203 to 1343, or over

a hundred and forty years. The independent kings after them ruled from 1343 to 1538, or for nearly two hundred years—Bengal being reconquered by Shere Sháh in the last-mentioned year. Its final subjugation by the Moguls was, however, not effected till 1576, or some thirty-eight years after, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, when Dáood, the last of the independent kings, was defeated and slain.

The number of the independent kings was twenty. They were mostly of the Afghán race, but of different dynasties —the family or tribal changes being frequent. One of the number was a Hindu, whose son and grandson, who succeeded him, became Mahomedans. The dominion of the kings comprehended North Behár at intervals, but not at all times. Sonárgong was ordinarily its limit on the south-east, but Tipperáh paid tribute; and on the east and north-east, Sylhet and Assam were occasionally plundered. A formal acknowledgment of the independence of Bengal was made by the Court of Delhi in 1357; but the attempts to bring it back under allegiance were nevertheless constant, though unsuccessful, and this was the principal cause of that serious maladministration from which the kingdom suffered so excessively and so long. Almost throughout the entire era of the independent kings, the administration was one constant scramble for power between the emperors and the kings, both sides being aided and abetted by rebel officers, new aspirants, and Hindu noblemen, who joined the *melée*. Intermediately, military expeditions were undertaken to Kámroop, Tirhoot, or Jagganáth—that is, in every direction as occasion arose; but, after victory gained and tribute imposed, it was all anarchy and confusion again.

The really great princes among the independent kings were Shumsudeen, who established that independence, his grandson Ghyásudeen, and Hossein Khán, who ascended the throne in 1489. Of these, the reign of the last was particularly vigorous. He put the machinery of government into order, ruled with justice himself and compelled

his subordinates to do the same, extended encouragement to the learned, and overran Orissá and Assam. The weak princes of the line were many, and the general character of the Afghán rule was rude and arbitrary, even under the best sovereigns. The lands all belonged to the king, who first selected certain districts for his own maintenance, after which the rest were partitioned among his followers —the inferior chiefs holding under those who were superior to them. All the chiefs were bound to maintain a certain number of troops for the royal service, to realize the king's revenue, and, after deducting a stipulated proportion therefrom for their own support, to remit the rest to the royal treasury. The Hindus of the upper classes were, as a rule, nowhere; though, as exceptions to the rule, many were allowed to manage the estates of the Mahomedan chiefs. The Hindus of the lower classes could not altogether be kept out, because the Mahomedans did not cultivate the soil themselves; but even for these the arrangement was not one calculated to elevate their condition. Among the kings, we have said, was a Hindu, differently named Kangsa or Ganesa, a chief of Betouriá, probably identical with Bithoor. He succeeded Shumsudeen II., a youth of very inferior talent, whom he dethroned. It is pleasing to see that he did try to restore his own race to eminence and power; but to enjoy a quiet and peaceful reign, he was obliged to make many concessions to the Mahomedans also—so many, in fact, that, on his death, they disputed with the Hindus whether his remains should not be buried as those of a Mahomedan, instead of being burnt as those of a Hindu. His son, Chemulit, also governed with great equity, but he forsook the Hindu religion for that of Islám. The dynasty terminated with Áhmed Sháh, the son of Chemulit, who left no heir.

The reign of Shere Sháh (1538-44) was a vigorous one, and left traces in every part of the empire. His wars with Humáyun require no notice in this place. He rendered important service to Bengal by subdividing the country into distinct provinces, and placing a separate lieutenant-

governor over each, with one officer over all to supervise the whole administration. This secured a state of tranquillity and happiness which Bengal had never enjoyed before; but its duration was very brief, as Shere lost his life within a few years after, and the prudential system introduced by the father was soon abrogated by his son.

After the death of Shere Sháh, Bengal revolted from Sultán Ádili before the return of Humáyun, and remained unsubdued till the time of Akbar, when it taxed the energies of two of his best generals, Toṛur Mul and Azim Khán, to reduce it. Intermediately, Orissá was conquered by Solimán, in 1568, and thither the bulk of the Afgháns repaired when their power in Bengal was broken. The Mogul officers then took possession of the Afghán estates; but Bengal was now for the first time destined to know the forms of a regular administration, and all these lands were enrolled and their rents fixed before Akbar would recognise any partition of them. The Moguls ruled in Bengal from 1576 to 1756, or for one hundred and eighty years; and throughout the whole period the forms of good government, if not the substance itself, were religiously observed. The total number of governors was thirty, of whom two only were Hindus, namely, Toṛur Mul and Mán Sing. To the former, Bengal was indebted for the first revenue settlement made by the Moguls, which continued in force for many years. Her obligations to the latter were still greater. The Afgháns, ousted by the Moguls, had settled in different parts of the country, where, having neither lands nor rents, they lived mostly by rapine. All these were brought under control by Mán Sing with a vigorous hand, and forced to find remunerative employment for themselves. Still larger bodies of them had proceeded to Orissá, and held it, with all the country to the north of it up to the Dámoodar river, as an independent colony. Mán Sing compelled these to acknowledge the emperor's supremacy, and to give up to the Hindus the custody of the temple of Jagganáth, which they had usurped. The old fortress of Rhotás, which had fallen into ruins, was put in

complete repair by him; and he removed the seat of government to Rájmahal, the *rájagriha* of Balarám, which he rebuilt.

In connection with the name of Mán Sing may be mentioned that of Pratápáditya, a refractory middle-man of Jessore. The father of this man, Vikramáditya, was the chief native counsellor of Dáood, the last king of Bengal, and endeavoured to dissuade him from revolting against Akbar. Finding that his counsels did not prevail, he determined, with the characteristic pusillanimity and foresight of his race, to establish a city in the Soonderbuns, sufficiently remote and difficult of access to elude the emperor's vengeance. This city was named Iswaripore, or Jessore; and here, in the hour of need, Dáood himself was glad to secrete his wealth. Eventually, Dáood was obliged to fly to Orissá; and Pratápáditya, the son of Vikram, having got possession of all the riches left in Jessore, fancied that he had become powerful enough to disclaim the emperor's allegiance. He, accordingly, declared himself independent of the Mogul, and assumed so much importance that Mán Sing had to be sent down to chastise him. Jessore was stormed by Mán Sing, and Pratápa made a prisoner. He was sent in an iron cage to Delhi, but never reached it, dying on the way, at Benáres. The whole affair was a petty one. Squabbles of this kind with pugnacious middle-men were of constant occurrence in India. We have noticed it simply because the Bengali fables try to convert Pratápa into a hero.

It would take too much space to attempt to give any detailed account of the Mogul administration in Bengal. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to noticing a few of its most important features and events. We read of the depredations of Portuguese pirates on the coast of Arracan and Chittagong so early as 1607, and of the conquest of the island of Sundeep by Gonzales in 1609. Sundeep belonged at this time to the rájáh of Arracan, who ruled over the Mughs. Taking advantage of circumstances, he concluded a treaty of peace with the pirates, and with

their assistance attempted to overrun Bengal, but was unsuccessful. This led to the seat of government being removed from Rájmahal to Dáccá, the latter being nearer to the quarter where mischief was brewing. The Portuguese and the Mughs afterwards fell out, and Sundeep was reconquered by the latter, who thence frequently invaded and plundered the lower parts of Bengal.

Bengal was thrown into a ferment during the rebellion of Sháh Jehán, who, having succeeded in entering it, made it the theatre of his desperate struggles with the emperor. The Portuguese had already established themselves in various parts of Bengal, especially at Hooghly, which was their headquarters; but, as they did not join the side of Sháh Jehán, he ordered their expulsion in 1631, after he came to the throne, and this order was literally enforced. But the Portuguese only went out to make room for the English, who were following in their wake.

One of the most melancholy episodes of the history of Bengal at this period is the tale of the misfortunes of Sultán Soojá, a son of Sháh Jehán. He was made governor of Bengal in 1639, and ruled over it with great fairness for nearly twenty years; but when Aurungzebe usurped the imperial throne, there was no more rest for Soojá, he being one of the competitors for the same post. He fought well for his rights, but was defeated in several engagements by Meer Jumlá, the general of Aurungzebe, and was at last obliged to fly through the jungles of Tipperáh to Chittagong. Failing to get a vessel there to carry him to Meccá, he threw himself on the generosity of the ráját of Arracan; but the Mugh had no kind feelings to waste on a Mahomedan, though he affected much sympathy for him at first. The mask was soon dropped by the ráját asking the fugitive to give him his daughter in marriage. This the haughty descendant of Timour refused; upon which he was attacked, beaten down and stunned, and then placed on a canoe and drowned. Criminal advances were now made by the ráját to the wife of the deceased, named Peári Bánoo, who answered them by stabbing herself to death. Her example was

followed by two of her daughters. The third and youngest was forced by the barbarian, and pined away and died.

Soojá was succeeded in the vice-royalty by his enemy Meer Jumlá, who, having effected the conquest of Cooch Behár, was so elated with his good fortune that he invaded Assam, with the avowed object of passing on to China, to plant the Mahomedan flag on the ramparts of Peking. The idea delighted Aurungzebe; but the expedition failed, and Meer Jumlá died of chagrin at Dáccá. Then followed the rule of Sháistá Khán, who was twice appointed governor. He was himself of a very mild disposition; but his orders from Aurungzebe were to persecute the Hindus, and he was obliged to carry them into execution. Notwithstanding this, his memory was cherished by the natives for many years with great affection and respect. During his administration grain was sold very cheap; and they built him a gate at Dáccá in commemoration of the event, with an inscription on it forbidding any nawáb to pass through it who did not make grain as cheap. It was during his administration that Chittagong was annexed in 1666.

The successors of Sháistá Khán require no notice till we come to the time of Moorshed Kooly, the founder of Moorshedábád, who was appointed governor in 1718, and proved one of the ablest administrators of the country. He was by birth a Hindu, the son of a Bráhman, but was purchased in early life and brought up by a Mahomedan, who gave him a good education. He carried out many important and beneficial changes. The first revenue assessment had been made by Ráját Torur Mul, in 1582; a revision of it was effected by Sultán Soojá, in 1657; a further revision was now made by Moorshed Kooly, who took the opportunity to remove the old *jygheredárs*, hitherto employed in the collection of rents, and to appoint *zemindárs* in their place—preferring Hindus to Mahomedans, for their better knowledge of accounts. The rájáh-families of Dinájepore, Nuddeá, Rájáháhye, and others, were thus created by him. In his time the officers chosen were simply employed as collectors of the Government dues within their

respective *chuklás*, as the revenue divisions into which the country was divided were called; but they gradually became rich and powerful, and made their offices hereditary: and thus was founded the so-called *territorial-aristocracy* of Bengal. The revenue of Bengal, as revised by Moorshed Kooly, amounted to 1,430,000*l.*, against 17,000,000*l.* of the present day; and the expenditure was 340,000*l.*, against the present expenditure of 5,000,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 1,090,000*l.*, which was annually remitted in bullion to the imperial treasury. The general character of Moorshed Kooly's administration was orderly and methodical; but this did not prevent great cruelties being exercised on the people, particularly when their rents fell into arrear. We read that the Hindus, for gross derelictions, were forced to become Mahomedans, and for smaller offences, were embedded in a pool of ordure and filth; but in the administration of justice between man and man, the courts were impartial.

Moorshed Kooly was succeeded by his son-in-law Soojáudeen, during whose administration the Ooryáhs, taking offence at the proceedings of the deputy-governor at Khoordáh, carried off the image of Jagganáth across the Chilká Lake, beyond the limits of Orissá. The consequence was, that the pilgrim-tax fell in amount, which caused a considerable loss of revenue; and this obliged the governor to redress the oppressions complained of, and recall the idol and re-establish it in Pooree. This shows how the times had altered, not only from the days of Máhmood of Ghazni, and other old conquerers, who would take no bribe of any amount to spare an idol, but even as compared with the immediately preceding days of Aurungzebe, whose most stringent orders of persecution had special reference to the destruction of images.

The only other governor whom it is necessary to name is Áli Verdy Khán, during whose administration, in 1742, occurred the first irruption of the *Burgees*, or Mahrattás, into Bengal. The misrule of the Mahomedans had, even under the best kings and viceroys, been very great; but no

calamity had ever befallen the country equal to that which now burst upon it so unexpectedly. In their first expedition the Mahrattás carried off no less than 2,000,000*l.* from the house of one man—Juggut Sett of Moorshedábád, the national banker of the day—besides laying the whole country, from Bálasore to Rájmahal, under contribution. After great exertions they were driven back; but, while one party was re-crossing the Chilká Lake, another was entering Bengal from a different direction, and met Áli Verdy face to face at Bhaugulpore; and this game went on for ten years, cities being plundered, villages burnt, harvests destroyed, and the people slain, till, weary and dispirited, Áli Verdy came to a compromise, and gave up Orissá to the freebooters, besides promising an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs of rupees, which was represented to be the *chout*, or a fourth part of the revenues of Bengal.

Áli Verdy was succeeded by his grandson, Soorájá Dowláh, the hero of Black-Hole notoriety. It is useless to recall any further reminiscences of the Mahomedan era. The battle of Plássey was fought in 1757, and terminated the Mahomedan power, after a continuous rule of five hundred and fifty years.

We have avoided mixing up with the history of the Mahomedans any account of the rise and development of the English power in Bengal, but perhaps a very brief allusion to it in this place is necessary to complete our narrative of the Mahomedan reign. The formation of the East India Company in 1600, under a charter conceded by Queen Elizabeth, is well known. Their first factory was established at Surát, whence they proceeded to trade to Ágrá, the residence of the emperor. There the surgeon of the factory, Mr. Boughton, was successful in curing a daughter of Sháh Jehán, who was severely burnt. He was shortly after equally successful in curing a daughter of Sultán Soojá who was afflicted with some inveterate disorder. For these services he was allowed to name his own reward, and asked for and obtained permission, on behalf of the Company, to erect factories in Bengal. The first factory was erected at

Pipley, near Bálasore, the next at Bálasore itself, and the third at Hooghly. In 1681, the factories in Bengal were made independent of Madrás, where the English had already established themselves in power; and soon after, an application was made by the Company for permission to erect a fort for the protection of their interests at the mouth of the Hooghly. This was refused. Then followed dissensions between the English and Sháistá Khán, the governor of Bengal, which led to the abandonment of Hooghly by the former, and their occupation of Sootanooty, on the spot on which Calcuttá now stands. Even this retreat they were at one time obliged to give up; but the capture of a few Mahomedan vessels bound for Meccá soon compelled the Moguls to make up their differences with a nation so powerful at sea, and the possession of Sootanooty was resumed in 1690. In the meantime the Dutch had finished their fort at Chinsuráh in 1687, and the English naturally became jealous of their good fortune. At this juncture the subadár (governor) fell out with one of his zemindárs, and disturbances followed, which gave the Company the long-wished-for opportunity of erecting a fort. The first was built in 1695, and occupied a site in Calcuttá near Dalhousie Square of the present day. The settlement thus established grew and prospered, and many wealthy Hindus were induced to come and live in it. The Mahomedan rulers were of course very jealous, but found no means to avert the danger they foresaw. Moorshed Kooly opposed the English tooth and nail, but circumstances helped them in spite of his enmity. Mr. Hamilton, an English surgeon, cured the Emperor Ferokesere of a sharp disease, which had delayed his marriage with the daughter of Ajeet Sing, and obtained for the service several concessions of great importance in favour of the Company. Many of these were disallowed by the local governor, but he could not refuse them all, and those that were accorded did not fail to improve the importance and prosperity of Calcuttá. Áli Verdy Khán was also inimical to the English; but his days were days of trouble, and he had enough on his hands in dealing with

the Mahrattás, who gave him no respite. The irruption of those freebooters was viewed even by the English with dismay; and to keep off the enemy they dug a ditch round their settlement, called the Mahrattá ditch, traces of which are yet to be seen. It is said that Álí Verdy foretold that after his death the English would become masters of Bengal. But matters would not have been so hurried to that end except for the inconsiderate conduct of Soorájá Dowláh. An unprovoked attack on Calcuttá, and the massacre of the Black-Hole, left the English no alternative but to fight for their security in earnest; and the battle was fought and won. After the victory of Plássey, the English, being still averse to come forward as kings, raised a puppet nawáb to act the royal part; but it was not found necessary to keep on the mask long. In 1765, the Company asked for and obtained from the Emperor Sháh Álum a grant in perpetuity of the provinces of Bengal, Behár, and Orissá; and from that date they openly assumed the sovereign power.

CHAPTER V.

ANTIQUARIAN RELICS.

This chapter must be read as supplementary to the two preceding ones, in connection with which only it can have any interest. Of real history of the olden times the reminiscences in Bengal are very indefinite; but, such as they are, they will be best understood with the aid afforded by the antiquarian remains still extant: and the two together may enable the general reader to form some adequate idea of the amount of civilisation which was attained, and which has now gone by. In the third chapter it was found convenient to arrange the narrative according to the divisions of the country given in the old Hindu accounts. We propose in this chapter to revert to the arrangement of divisions as it obtains at this moment, which will be found better adapted to our present purpose.

Beginning with the Pátná division, we find several relics in it, of which those in Gyáh are held to be the most sacred. Gyáh is well known as the place to which the pious Hindu repairs for securing the immediate admission of his ancestors into heaven. The story about it is, that in the Satya Yug there was an infidel of the name of Gyáh, who, by his sanctity and mortifications, obtained power over the gods, and compelled Vishnu to grant him the boon of being able to send up every enfranchised soul to heaven, on devout application being made to him for its redemption. As this very materially reduced the authority of Yama, the king of Hades, a complaint was filed by him before Bruhmá, who, having determined to outwit Gyáh, besought him to allow a great feast to be given on his pure body, the touch of which secured salvation. The giant agreed, and lay down at the place now called after him. The feast was given;

but the infidel was never allowed to get up again. All the gods, with the assistance of large rocks, held him down; and he is believed to be so held down to this day, the rocks placed above him being only visible to mortal men. This is understood by many to refer to the struggles between the Bráhmans and the Buddhists, to the latter of whom Gyáh is said to have at one time belonged. The old virtue of touching the body of the giant still remains; and offerings made by votaries on the spot for the relief of their ancestors at once throw open to them the portals of heaven.

The places of worship at Gyáh are all of great antiquity; but many of the buildings to be now seen there have been reconstructed in comparatively modern times. The most celebrated and elegant building extant is known by the name of Vishnupad, and was erected by Ahalya Bye, a Mahrattá princess, who also rebuilt the temple of Benáres. The *mandir* (shrine) over the object of worship (namely, the footmark left on stone by Vishnu in his struggle to hold down Gyáh) is an octagonal pyramid about 100 feet high. It has a *nátmandir* (porch), which is a very neat and airy work. The masonry of the dome is exceedingly curious, and has always received the approbation of connoisseurs. Next in importance is the temple of Godádhar, which is built of granite, but very rudely set up. In the area are scattered a great many images. The rock of *pretsila* (that is, of the ghost) is also a place of great sanctity, but it has no relics of any kind.

At Baráway, about ten miles from Tikári, is a tank and heap of ruins, regarding which even tradition is silent; but the remains are believed to be of very great antiquity. There are traces of ruins also on a plain of wide extent on the west of the Nilájan river, which some years ago are said to have included the skeleton of a large castle or palace, all the marks of which have now been obliterated. Immediately south of the palace are the ruins of a temple, the entire extent of which is about 800 feet east and west, and 480 feet north and south. Here, it is believed, stood the shrine and tomb of Sákya Muni, erected by Basanta

Pál, prince of Gour. A large tree which has sprung out of the ruins now marks the site, and at its foot have been placed a confused multitude of images—namely, all those belonging to the temple which time has spared.

In the subdivision of Nowádá is the Geriyak hill, the ruins on which are yet to be seen. Here, according to the Bhagabat Gitá, stood the house, or *rájagriha*, of Jarásandhá, the great ruler of Magadha. Of the *griha*, or palace, not a vestige remains. The foundations of a *mandir* and a *nát-mandir*, or shrine with porch, are traceable. In the centre of one building quite in ruins stands a solid column of brick, and round about are the usual attendant representations of idols, male and female; but beyond the memory of Jarásandhá, with whose name the ruins are connected, there is nothing very peculiar about them. There is also a cave here, cut in the solid rock, which is nearly 12 or 13 feet high. The chamber contains a stone goddess, and is believed to be of great antiquity.

Rhotásgurh is in Sháhábád. It derives its name from Rohitaswa, the grandson of Trisángka, whose sins polluted the Karumnássá river, as we shall notice elsewhere. The grandson was a great and pious king, and came to be worshipped as the presiding deity of the fortress, till his image was destroyed by Aurungzebe. Of the old ruins very little traces remain. The existing relics are all of works of a comparatively modern date, many of them having been erected by Rájáh Mán Sing. At Uphroul there is a monolith called Bheem Singh's *láthee*, supporting a lion carved in stone. Its depth below ground has not been ascertained, but is believed to be great. The height of the pedestal is 21 feet, or, including the top of the lion's head, 30 feet above ground. At Barágáon are the remains of a temple of Buddha, built by Rájáh Baladitya, the walls of which are built of bricks of mud, but are of great thickness, and apparently sound at the base. The idols which occupied the temples have been elsewhere removed; but the platform on which they were deposited can be traced. The ruins are considered to be of great age, most of the build-

ings having been erected at the time of the Andhra rájáhs. At Sowryá, near Bettiáh, there is one of Asóka's edict or boundary pillars. It is of granite, 40 feet high, and 9 in circumference at the base, and has an entablature at the top surmounted by a couchant lion. A similar column exists at Koolooáh, near Mozufferpore.

Of the works erected by the Mahomedans, several are extant and in good preservation; but two only require notice, namely, the magnificent monuments over the remains of Shere Sháh and his son Selim, both of which are at Sásserám (Shahasrám). The design of both structures is the same, but the tomb of Selim was never completed. That of Shère Sháh, which was finished, may be described as an island in an artificial lake, which rises for some way with very rude steps, above which is a terrace faced with stone, with four octagonal buildings at the corners of it, and eight little balconies. The tomb is in the middle of the terrace, and consists of a great hall, surrounded by an arcade, which forms an extensive gallery.

The place of greatest antiquity in the Bhaugulpore division is Karnágurh, the chief residence of the Karna or Andhra rájáhs. Some assert that this was the residence of Karna, the half-brother of the Pándavas; and the style of the ruin is favourable to any hypothesis that gives it an extreme old age, as nothing—not even the general design of the building—can now be made out. Between Ratnagunj and Amerpore are the traces of a Kshetriya fort of considerable size; but it retains no mark of strength or splendour at present. At Máyágunj are a cave and subterraneous galleries overhanging the Ganges, which to this day are pointed out as having been the abode of Kasyápa Muni, one of the twenty-four Buddhas who preceded Sákya. The cave in itself is very small, but the galleries under ground lead to other small chambers at a distance. Some Buddhistic remains are also to be seen near Sultángunj.

The ruins of Rájmahal have an old story, the site being best known as the *rájagriha* of Balarám. Of that *griha*,

however, no traces remain. The ruins which were latest to be seen, consisted mainly of the works constructed by Mán Sing, and his great rival Futteh Khán, both governors of Bengal. The great temple called *Sommá Musjeed* was the work of the latter; while the former contributed many highly ornamental buildings of smaller size, of which no fragments are extant. A few of the best edifices here were raised by Sultán Soojá. The building named *Singa-dállán*, or stone-hall, was erected by him; and, even in the days of Heber, exhibited traces of the greatest magnificence. The *phulbári*, or flower-garden, was also his work. Besides these, several other monuments were added by other Mahomedan rulers of later date, all of which are now buried in deep jungle, or have been displaced by railway works.

Near Monghyr is a ruined heap, about five hundred yards square, which is believed to be the remains of a large palace built by Parikshit, the second prince of the Pándava family. Here, also, are the ruins of a fort, in which Jarásandhá is said to have held eighty thousand princes in confinement, intending to sacrifice them to the gods, but who were released by Bheem when Jarásandhá was slain. The old castle of Gidhaur, too, is in this district, and has the reputation of having been built in the days of Indradyamna, or before the Mahomedan era, though the more common account attributes it to Shere Sháh. At Colgong are the remains of a mud fort, the history of which is totally unknown. In Purneáh are the ruins of the house of Kichok, one of the actors in the great war of the *Mahábhárut*. The place is now called *Asoorgurh*, or the fort of an *asoor*.

The relics in the Chotá Nágpore division are not many, except in the neighbourhood of Páchete, where the ruins of several temples, tanks, and fortified gateways and towers are yet to be seen—some of them in excellent preservation. The fort, which was the main seat of the Páchete rájáhs, is now full of dense low jungle. It was protected by a deep moat, which also led off the torrents coming down from the

sides of the hill. The temples were all built of brick, while the gateways were of stone. One fine big temple still stands intact, and a large gathering of people takes place in it annually.

The only other remains in the division worth mention are at Telcoopy, on the banks of the Dámoodar. The ruins are of temples, which are superb even in their present condition. All of them were built of stone, cut with great care and set with fine points. They seem to have been constructed by the Jains, but subsequently fell into the hands of the Bráhmans, which accounts for their having been plastered over to obliterate the original carving on the stone and substitute a different one. There are also Jain temples at the top of Parasnáth hill, but these are of modern date.

In Orissá the most important monument is the temple of Jagganáth, the site of which, says the fable, was indicated by a holy crow, as being the place most highly favoured of Heaven. The temple has the reputation of having been originally erected in the Satya Yug, or golden age, by Rájáh Indradyamna, a king of Oujein. At a subsequent era it was entirely buried in sand by a terrific storm, but was restored by Rájáh Anang Bheem Deo, in A.D. 1198. As the edifice now stands, it has an imposing appearance from the sea, but does not gain by closer inspection, neither the materials nor the architecture having anything remarkable in them. It is an immense quadrangular structure, with its chief tower nearly 200 feet high. Like almost every other notable structure in Orissá, it is built throughout of stone, and it is enclosed by a high stone wall with gates in the middle of each face, and looking towards the cardinal points. The whole structure is surmounted by flags and pennons, as having a living deity within.

The next most important memorial of the Ooryáhs is the black pagoda of Kanárack, which was constructed by Rájáh Narasingha Deo, for the worship of the sun, in 1241. The size of the building inside is 60 feet square, with walls

nearly 50 high and 8 in thickness. Only one quarter of it is still erect, the other three quarters being already in ruins. This edifice was intended as the vestibule or entrance of a large temple, which was partly built up, and then allowed to decay; and the huge piles of stones in the neighbourhood are standing proofs of the original intent. No part of the building was consecrated. It is now occupied by bears, and overgrown with jungle.

At Bhuvaneswara are the ruins of a great pagodá, with many adjoining temples, all of which were dedicated to the worship of Mahádeva. These were erected by a rájáh of the *Kesari bangsa*, and the Ooryáhs assert that the number of temples originally was seven thousand; but the vestiges of some forty or fifty towers only are now traceable. All the edifices stand within a square area enclosed by a wall of stone, the great pagodá being in the centre. They were all adorned with a profusion of sculptured work, of which the remains are still extant.

Besides the above, at the village of Kopári are the ruins of a Mahrattá temple, situated at the foot of the Gazná hill of the Nilgiri range. The body of the temple is about 30 feet long by 30 broad; but nothing remains of it now except some pillars lying prostrate on the ground. To the west of the ruins is a large tank, on one of the banks of which there is what is called a *padmapád*, or foot-print of a goddess on stone. At Jájpore, at a place called Sántamádhub, are the remains of a colossal figure of stone half-buried in the ground, the upper half only being exposed. This half is 9 feet high; so that the whole figure, including the portion under ground, would probably measure about 18 or 20 feet. At Chundeshwar there is a monolith about 22 feet high, standing on a pedestal of enormous blocks of stone. The image of a *garuṛa* surmounted the column, but was removed by Kálápáhár, who endeavoured to destroy the column itself, but was unsuccessful. There are three large stone images of Káli, Varáhi, and Indráni, at Jájpore, which have long been objects of interest. They lie with their heels upper-

most, precisely in the position they assumed on being tumbled from their thrones by their Mahomedan desecrators. Seven large figures of the female divinities, called *Mátris*, are also to be seen in their neighbourhood, and also excellent representations of the Narasingha *avatar* and of Rávana. It is supposed that all these figures were constructed in the twelfth century, during the reign of Asáree Bheem Deo.

On the banks of the Byturni there is an old Hindu temple of Borránath, with two figures of lions rampant. At Khundgiri, on the summit of a rock, is a neat stone temple, raised to the worship of Parasnáth. Not far from Jájpore, at Totulámul, there is a peculiar eleven-arched stone bridge, about 240 feet long and 32 broad, which, if not very old, bears evidence of having been constructed before the Mogul conquest of Orissá. Another good bridge, built by Narasingha Deo, is that over the Attharáh *nulláh* on the Pooree road. It is made of laterite and sandstone, and is not arched, the openings being closed over by corbelling. The mosque of Ábu Násar Khán and the tomb of Syed Bokhári are two Mahomedan buildings of note in Jájpore.

Of the remains in the Burdwán division the most ancient apparently is the Menára at Pandooáh, a very old structure, originally raised by a Hindu ráját of the name of Pándu, or Pundráj, but afterwards used by the Mahomedans as a place of worship. The building is very high, but broken on the top by violent storms. The remains of a fort of considerable extent exist at Bishenpore, the ramparts of which are still visible, and one handsome gateway is in a fair state of preservation. Within the fort are three ancient temples, built of brick and covered with curious sculpture. Near Hooghly are the remains of the ancient town and port named *Saptagrám*, or Sátgong, which declined as Hooghly rose into importance under the Portuguese; but it has few vestiges of any importance to exhibit. Near Dánton, on the west bank of the Sooburnarekhá (the Streak of Gold), are a cluster of stone buildings

called *gurhs,* or forts, which probably did good service at the time of the Mahrattá disturbances. There is further, a *linga* temple there built of stone, and another temple or *seráí,* also of stone, which is now used as a mosque. The other Mahomedan remains in the division are the tomb of Pir Bhirám Lukká in the town of Burdwán, and the Gházee Durgá at Treebani, Shibpore,—the latter a very ancient Mussulman building, with extracts from the Korán engraved on the stones.

The Rájsháhye division has got some of the oldest memorials extant. There is a pillar near Jeypore called Bheemspantee, covered with inscriptions which have not yet been deciphered. Buried in impenetrable jungle is the site of the house and stables of Virhat Rájáh, in Ghorághát. The ruins are extensive, but there are no whole bricks now, either in the ramparts or mounds—no evidence, in fact, to contradict the tradition of their remote antiquity, or the purpose to which they were applied. In Dinájepore, on the east bank of the Panabhoba, are the ruins of a fort and town called Bángurh, or the fort of Bán Rájáh. Some outlines of the citadel can still be traced, but of the palace or its outworks the only vestiges are heaps of bricks. A tank of very large dimensions exists, named Kálládiggee, after Kállá Ráni, the favourite wife of Bánasur; but others regard it as a monument of the Pál family, and call it the Mahipáldiggee. Of more modern works the temple of Gopál, in Gopálgunge, is now surrounded by jungle, and is fast falling into decay. The brickwork of it is curious —each brick being moulded or ornamented with some device. A Hindu temple at Kántonugger stands amid the remains of a fort, and contains the image of Kánto, or Vishnu. The temple of Govinda, at Govindnugger or Thákoorgrám, is almost a ruin, and is surrounded by dense jungle.

The ruins of Gour and Peruáh are well known; but the relics which exist are of the Mahomedan buildings—not of the older Hindu edifices, which have all gone to decay. The chief of the Mahomedan buildings yet seen are the

Kudum Russool mosque, and the Golden and Bárwá-Durwázi halls, all of which are very pleasing in design. One peculiarity observable in them is that a vast number of the stones of which they are composed bear carvings which are evidently Hindu, which indirectly attests to the greatness of the Hindu structures that have ceased to exist. When the Mahomedans removed the seat of government to Peruáh, beyond the Mahánandá, Gour was plundered of everything that could be removed. At a later period Gour was again reoccupied, but for a short time only. The existing ruins in both places are so overgrown with jungle, that it is impossible to effect a clearance without endangering the stability of the buildings, the roots of the trees having become fairly interwoven with the masonry.

The remains of the Adiná mosque at Máldáh are not inelegant, but have more the appearance of a caravanserái than of a religious edifice. In Gungárámpore are the ruins of a mosque and monument called Mállá Átá, after a saint of that name, which are still frequented as a place of worship. At Hemtábád are the vestiges of the tomb of a Mahomedan saint and of several mosques, one of which is still in good preservation. The monument of Moorshed Kooly Khán stands on the east bank of the Bhágirutty, at Kuttrá, and is already covered with rank vegetation, and falling fast into decay. A mosque at Bágá, built by an old hermit in 1583, still stands, having been kept in repair from the proceeds of the lands which were given to him by the emperor of Delhi for its support. There is also an old mosque at Kásumshá, near Nooroolábád, built by one Sabar Khán, who was originally a Bráhman, but became a Mahomedan on securing the love of a begum of Moorshedábád, with whom he eloped.

Of the Presidency division the most remarkable relics are the buildings which have been found in the Soonderbuns, most of which are temples and mosques. On the banks of the Kobaduk river (Kapátaksha, or the dove's

eye*) there stands a temple of Kapil Muni, a devotee, but believed to be distinct from Kapila the sage, who in Hindu mythology is spoken of as having destroyed the hundred sons of King Ságara by flames exhaled from his eyes. The present temple is a modern structure, said to have been erected by an Englishman on the site where the old temple stood. The ruins of another temple, or what is believed to have been the house of the devotee, are also to be seen in the same place, but within dense impenetrable forest, at the foot of a large tree, which, growing in the brickwork, has torn the whole structure asunder. There is next the Máchooár Dháool, an immense column, said to have been erected by fishermen, but for what purpose is not known. It is now in a very dilapidated state. Immense old embankments and the ruins of a large *rájbáree*, or royal residence, have also been found in the heart of the forest; also two or three *musjeeds*, which are in course of decay. In the Bágirhàt subdivision there is the tomb of one Khán Jehán Áli, a man unknown to fame, but who seems to have made plenty of money in the neighbourhood, and to have died in 1458, leaving no heirs. The building stands on the north of a large tank, having a *ghát* of masonry. The design of the tomb is simple; it is called *shátgumbooj*, as having sixty domes, and is throughout made of brick. The ruins of a mosque at Musjeedkar are also allied with the Áli's name.

In the Dáccá division are many ruins, principally testifying to the power of the Mahomedans. Perhaps the most important of all the relics there is the ruin of a Hindu temple named Dhákeshwari, said to have been erected by Bullál Sen. The building is buried in jungle, and mouldering in decay; but it is still held in much reverence by the people, and religious ceremonies are to this day performed within its precincts, though its ancient glories have long

* How very poetical some of these Hindu names are!

passed by. There was a time when so many as ten buffaloes and fifty goats were daily sacrified at this shrine. The ruins of Sonárgong are next in importance, but are only of structures of the Mahomedan era, there being no vestige now of any building of the days of Ádisoor. It is doubtful even if the Sonárgong of Ádisoor exists. The tradition is, that it has been swept away entirely by the Brahmapootra river, and that the Sonárgong of the Mahomedans, of which the ruins survive, was altogether on a different site. At Rájnugger are two fine *mutts* (temples with spires), one of which is called "Pancho-ratna," and the other "Ekais-ratna"—the five and twenty-one gems respectively. A *mutt* at Rájbáree is a building of greater antiquity.

The ruined fort and palace at Lálbágh have a picturesque appearance, with romantic old walls and battlements, and a beautiful mausoleum, erected by Sháistá Khán, to the memory of his daughter, Beebi Pári. The great *kuttrá* (pavilion) is a pile of grand and elegant architecture. It is situated near the centre of the city of Dáccá, and is divided into a vast number of apartments for the accommodation of all classes of people. The *chowk*, or market-place, with a large mosque on one side, is likewise a prominent relic. Throughout the division the ruins of Mahomedan forts are also to be seen, and those of mosques of very imposing appearance—the latter of which have been preserved more or less with care. There is a very old and curious diagonal temple, situated on a low hill about two miles east of Sylhet, which is called the Teelágurh temple; and, in the same district, are also a *durgá* and some bath-houses worthy of attention. Of bridges two are remarkable —namely, the Tengi bridge, a solid structure of masonry and stonework, which has a most picturesque appearance, and is still in full use; and the Puglá bridge, on the Náráingunj road, which is also picturesque, but is now in ruins. The one great fact observable in all the existing monuments in this division is, that they are, either wholly or in great part, made of brick, the reason being that in

the neighbourhood of Dáccá stone in any quantity is not easily procurable.

The remains in Assam worth mention are those of three temples upon the *bund* of a fine artificial lake in Seebságur; those of a fort and palace belonging to the old kings of Assam, the whole of which is a mere mass of ruins; the *Runghur*, or assembly-room of the old kings, which has been purchased and repaired by the present Government; the Ghengang fort and palace; the Námdáng bridge, built of stone, over a very deep and muddy-bottomed river; several temples, one of which had at one time a golden-covered ball at the top; and the Támbá Serái, or copper temple, which was anciently a very notorious place for human sacrifice.

A review of the details given above reminds us that the oldest and most interesting relics now extant are those to be seen in the Pátná and Orissá divisions, where, the materials used having been of the more durable kind, traces are still found on the ground of many structures which cannot now be recognised by the eye, and of which the information forthcoming is incoherent and loose. The relics of the Rájsháhye division are almost equally ancient and interesting; but the materials there used were less solid, the brickwork has crumbled into dust, and tradition only records the purposes for which the buildings were raised. The climate of Bengal is singularly inimical to the preservation of architectural remains, particularly in the case of brickbuilt edifices, the destruction of which is inevitable if the roots of a banyan-tree can once find a place in its crevices. Except, therefore, in the divisions first named, the remains, where they are seen, are generally of buildings of comparatively recent date, which are necessarily less interesting to the general reader, even though they have been better preserved. The remark made by one observer does occur, that the Hindu has left few vestiges of his ancient greatness, while the Mahomedan is to be traced everywhere in his ruins. But the conclusion arrived at,

which concedes to the Mahomedan the palm of superiority, is scarcely correct. The vestiges of Hindu greatness were many, perhaps quite as many as, if not more numerous than, those left by the Mahomedans. But most of them have already disappeared from age, and the rest are now disappearing before our own eyes; while those of Mahomedan greatness, being of more recent date, are yet in a better state of preservation. Possibly, being in better condition, the latter may by some observers be more prized; though the greater number of visitors will probably still prefer to seek the undistinguishable fragments of an older time. The Mahomedan buildings, as the productions of a later age, are also much better specimens of architecture than the clumsy structures which the Hindus have handed down to us. But relics are scarcely prized merely on architectural grounds, their principal charm being in the associations connected with their names. Of the Hindu ruins, several are of palaces and forts, a few of triumphal monuments and bridges, while the rest are all of temples, and of the gods which were worshipped in them, or of caves and underground chambers, with sculptures indicating their Buddhistic origin. The Mahomedan ruins are mostly of mosques and monuments over the dead, with a fair sprinkling of buildings that partook of practical usefulness—such as halls, bridges, markets, and *seráis*.

CHAPTER VI.

CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE nationality of the inhabitants of Bengal is of the most heterogeneous kind. The two main divisions of Hindus and Mahomedans are well known; and they are generally understood to imply a distinction as well of race as of religion. The total number of Hindus amounts to about forty-three millions, and of Mahomedans to about twenty millions. Within these divisions there are an indefinite number of subdivisions, with numerous aboriginal tribes and castes besides, who do not come under either classification. The proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is comparatively inconsiderable in Behár, Chotá Nágpore, Orissá, and Assam. In the first, it is about two and a half against sixteen and a half millions; in the second, 169,000 against two and a half millions; in the third 74,000 only, against a little short of four millions; and in the fourth, 176,000 against about one and three-quarter million. This result is rather curious, particularly as regards Behár, which is almost contiguous to those places where the Mahomedans retained their sovereign authority longest. But the explanation is, that the existence of Mahomedans in Bengal is not due so much to the introduction of Afghán and Mogul blood into the country, as to the conversion of the conquered races to the creed of the conquerors, and that the sword-in-hand proselytism of the conquerors found more numerous converts among the timid races of Lower Bengal than among the people of Behár and Chotá Nágpore, who were able to repel it.

The great mass of the people in Behár are Hindus—the Mahomedans mustering strong only in the principal towns

of Pátná, Bárh, and Behár. The Hindus generally are good-looking, and of a moderately powerful build. They are also generally good-tempered, and amenable to authority, though amongst themselves they are to some extent turbulent. Education is not much sought after by them; and no partiality whatever is shown for English education, which is rather avoided as one of the principal causes of irreligion, they being strongly attached to the old-fashioned religion and worship of their ancestors. The general name borne by them is that of Hindustánis, the language spoken being the Hindi, which is also the language of Upper India.

The people of Bengal Proper—both Hindus and Mahomedans—are for the most part of a less manlier make, though in one sense hardier, being able to endure a larger amount of exposure in the sun and rain. They are both smaller in stature and weaker in constitution—results which are mainly due to the enervating climate in which they live. But, with these disadvantages, they (the Hindus especially) have the advantages of being more intelligent and artful, and of possessing great perseverance in the pursuit of occupations of a sedentary nature; and hence their marked superiority in literary attainments, not only over all other people in Bengal, but over the people of every other part of India. Again, as a political community, they are quiet, peaceable, and inoffensive, with the exception of that portion of the Mahomedan element which is represented by the Ferázees. On the other hand, they are all—Hindus and Mahomedans alike—generally characterized by cunning and deceit, and have for ages retained a name for untruthfulness. The general designation they go by is that of Bengalis; and they have a language and literature of their own, which have been cultivated with great care within the past few years.

The Ooryáhs, or people of Orissá, are allied to the Bengalis by language and descent, but have marked peculiarities which distinguish them from all other races. Physically, they are apparently not weaker than the Ben-

galis, but they are more timid and submissive, and so conservative as to hold almost an isolated position. They will adopt no change, however convenient; and even to the present day use date-leaves as writing-tablets, and write on them with a sharp iron style—ignoring the use of pen, ink, and paper. In a land where almost every race is bigoted and priest-ridden, they have always held the post of pre-eminence.

The people of Assam are a mixed race, with a considerable sprinkling of the Indo-Chinese element. They are mostly Hindus in religion, and speak a dialect closely allied to the Bengali; but they are very lax in religious observances, and would not be accepted as orthodox Hindus beyond the valley of the Brahmapootra. Their physical characteristics are also peculiar—consisting of a middle stature, heavy jaws, prominent cheek-bones, small and unevenly-set eyes, and large ears. They are proud and indolent, and much addicted to opium.

Besides the above, the Bengal Presidency contains a vast number of aboriginal tribes—especially in the western and eastern districts—a complete record of whom will be found in Colonel Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. The table-lands of Chotá Nágpore are mainly inhabited by aborigines bearing the generic name of Kole, or wood-lander, a term originally applied to them abusively by the Bráhmans, when the two races first came in contact with each other. The prevailing classes are the Moondás, Oráons (better known as Dhángurs), Bhoomájis, and Sonthál, the last of whom principally occupy the wide and sparsely populated country named after them—the Sonthál Pergunnáhs, but are also to be found in many other places. All these races are rather below the middle stature, and most of them are of a dark complexion, with a somewhat angular contour of face, but having diversities of eyes, lips, nose, and cheek-bones peculiar to each. The forehead of most of them is low and receding, and the hair scanty. They are all mild, contented, and good-tempered; passionately fond of dancing, and great lovers of sport.

Of the eastern aborigines, the principal races are the Kochs or Rájbunsis, Mechs or Cáchárese, Áhoms, Ákhás, Duflás, Meeris, Meekirs, Ábors, Mishmis, Nágás, Singphos, Khámptis, Khásiáhs, Gáros, Lusháis, and other frontier tribes. The Kochs, or Rájbunsis, are of a dark colour; but their cognates—the Mechs, or Cáchárese—are yellow or light brown. The Áhoms are the aborigines of Assam—short, dark, lazy, apathetic, and ignorant. The Khásiáhs are a hardy race, stoutly made and muscular; but, as a rule, short-lived. All the rest are frontier hill-tribes, most of them brave and warlike; but, like all savages, treacherous, revengeful, and untrustworthy. Might is right with them; and war, murder, and rapine their delight. But they have many good qualities, and are susceptible of improvement.

All the aborigines, eastern and western, taken together, do not give us in round numbers a population of quite four millions. When we speak, therefore, of the people of Bengal, it must be understood that our remarks are confined to the general population of the Presidency, without including the aboriginal tribes, who do not share in many of their peculiarities. Even with this reservation, the difficulty of classifying the various tribes and castes of Bengal is very considerable, and many old-fashioned distinctions have to be ignored. We have all heard the ancient story of the Hindu castes being divided into the four primary sections of Bráhmans, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. The story remains, but the distinctions have long become a myth, as three out of the four divisions named do not exist at all, the Bráhman alone having retained his vitality to the present times. There are now no Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, or Sudras anywhere, though caste distinctions dominate with all their pristine vigour and restrictions, at least in Bengal. We must likewise give up another fanciful division to which we have been much accustomed of late—namely, that of Aryan and non-Aryan races, between whom really no hard-and-fast line can be drawn. With these prelimi-

nary remarks, we will now review the distinctions as we actually find them at this moment.

The principal Hindu tribes and races in Behár are—(1) Bráhmans, (2) Rájpoots, or Chuttris, (3) Bábhuns, (4) Bháts, (5) Káyasths, (6) Bunneáhs, (7) Áheers, and (8) Játs, with other minor castes engaged in the preparation of cooked food, in agricultural labours, and in personal services, whom it would take too much space especially to define. The Bráhmans are most numerous in Tirhoot, and are generally well-off and esteemed. They are cultivators or zemindárs, and are priests also. In Gyáh are the Gyáwal Bráhmans, proprietors of the Gyáh places of pilgrimage. They are reputed to be very rich, but are very bad as landlords. The Rájpoots, or Chuttris, abound most in Sháhábád and Sárun. They are principally landowners and cultivators, and even their women superintend the cultivation at home. The men also seek service in the army and the police, and as *durwáns*, or personal attendants on the rich. The Bábhuns are a mixture of the Bráhmans and the Chuttris, and form a fine manly race. They are numerous throughout the Pátná division, and are only a little less so in Bhaugulpore. They are generally respectable and thriving, but are very quarrelsome. Their chief occupation is cultivation. The Bháts are poets, heralds, and genealogists. They are not very numerous, but are much respected. They are now chiefly employed as cultivators, and also keep the family pedigrees of noblemen, and recite the deeds of their ancestors at festivals and funerals. The Káyasths, or Kyets, form the writer class of Behár, as of every other place in the Presidency. They are very much esteemed both by the natives and Europeans, and were hitherto generally well off, as they had a monopoly of all the government offices, but are now beginning to feel the advance of education (slow as it is) among the other classes. As a rule they follow no other profession but that of letters; and even their women can write, some being also able to manage their own zemindáries. Under the general term Bunneáh come in most of

the trading classes, which are numerous, thriving, and respectable. The Áheers, or Goálás, form the herdsman class. They are turbulent and dishonest, and are regularly retained as *lattials*, or clubmen, by the rich. The Játs are another pastoral tribe, but not settled in Behár to any great extent. In common with the Áheers, they still retain the old custom of marrying an elder brother's widow; and our orientalists conclude therefrom that both these tribes are of Scythic descent. The minor castes in Behár are many in number, and are all important elements in Hindu society. Some provide the only food that orthodox Hindus can take from other hands without pollution; others are pálki-bearers and house-servants; others, again, vegetable growers and sellers, and so on: all having some particular functions to perform which nobody else can discharge.

The Mahomedans of Behár are, as elsewhere, divided into the two primary sects of Sheáhs and Soonis; and these, again, are subdivided into Sheiks, Syeds, Moguls, and Páthán. Physically, the Mahomedans are superior to the Hindus, being a more active race in every respect; but morally they are intriguing, treacherous, and disloyal. Every one will remember that the Wáhabee movement in India originated at Pátná.

The main body of the population of the Chotá Nágpore division consists of the aborigines of the Kolarian type, and the Hindu tribes and castes that have settled in the border districts of the table-land. An enumeration of them would include the Bráhmans, Rájpoots, Káyasths, Goálás, Ghátwáls, Bhogtás, Moondás, Oráons, Bhoongás, Koormis, Koeris, Jolás, Bhoomájis, and Sonthál. We have described the Kolarian races already in the brief notice taken of the western aborigines; and the Hindu tribes of Chotá Nágpore do not materially differ from those of Behár and Bengal, the former of whom have already been delineated, and the latter will be. The Jolás referred to profess the Mahomedan religion, but in practice are as much Hindus as the other castes. All the tribes are equally ignorant and illiterate, with morals on a par with their knowledge—

even the generally truth-loving Sonthál having very much deteriorated of late years. The habits of the aboriginal tribes are, however, simultaneously improving; they clothe themselves now much more than they used to do before, attend more to personal cleanliness, and their domestic occupations have become a little more refined—sufficiently so for the cynic to remark that truth and refinement are not friends.

Of the Orissá population the aboriginal tribes form the principal element, together with the usual Hindu castes. The principal Hindu castes are the Bráhmans, Khundáits, Chássás, and Goárs or Goálás; while among the aborigines are the Khonds, Sábars, and Sonthás. The Bráhmans are either *Vaidik*, professing to know the *Veds* and the *Shástras*; or *Lowkik*, that is, following worldly pursuits and occupations: but there are very few really high-caste men among them, the Mahápátras, Pándás, and others, belonging actually to very inferior castes. The Khundáits are a numerous class, and call themselves Kshetriyas, or Rájpoots, but without any real claim to either title. They exhibit every variety of type, and follow almost every sort of profession, being cultivators, messengers, constables, and doorkeepers. The people of the Chássá class are the most numerous of all, and live solely by cultivation. Next to them in respect to numbers are the Goálás, or Goárs, which means herdsmen. Besides these are the menial castes and the aborigines, all rude and boorish in their manners, and averse to imbibe any new ideas. Of the aborigines the most important are the Khonds, who are mainly found in the highlands in the south of Orissá, and on the confines of the Madras Presidency. These are well known to British readers in connection with the Goomsur war of 1836-37, and the suppression of the Meriáh sacrifices some twenty-seven years ago. The Sonthás have been already described. The Sábars are numerous in all the districts of Orissá, and especially in the tributary states, and closely resemble the Oráons of Chotá Nágpore. All the Ooryáh races, whether aborigines or otherwise, are slow and unin-

telligent, and most of them effeminate and submissive also; but there is a sprinkling of Mahomedans in the province, descendants of the Afgháns who settled in it, to whom these remarks do not apply.

Of the population of Assam the greater portion is nominally Hindu, but really the different races are converts from various forms of devil-worship and Buddhism. The prevailing castes are Bráhmans, Gonocks, Káyasths, Kolitas, Kochs, Áhoms, Domes, and the aboriginal hill-tribes, whom we have already noticed. The Bráhmans, as priests, are to be found in all parts of Bengal; and the specimens in Assam, as elsewhere, are more intelligent than the surrounding tribes. The Gonocks, or Dybagyas, are astrologers, intelligent but not laborious. The Káyasths pretend to derive their descent from their namesakes who came to Bengal with the five Bráhmans imported from Kanouj by Ádisoor. They are very few in number, and are chiefly employed as *mohunts*, or priests. The exact position of the Kolitas has not been defined. Some authorities maintain that they are allied to the Káyasths, though somewhat inferior to them, not being required to observe all the religious formalities enjoined on the Káyasths; but others affirm that the Kolita is altogether a distinct caste, and next in dignity to the Bráhman, as springing from the family of the Chuttris, who concealed their caste when Parusrám was waging a war of extermination against them, whence the name of Kolita, or *kool-liptu*, meaning "caste-concealed." The Kochs, Áhoms, and Domes are semi-Hinduised aborigines. Koch, although now the designation of a caste, is really a tribal name. We have spoken of this division before; and also of the Áhoms, to which class the rájáhs of Assam belonged. The Domes are fishermen, whom the upper classes in the province cannot touch without pollution. Speaking in general terms, the Assamese are a weak and effeminate race, whom the use of opium has still further degenerated. Morality amongst them is very low: lying and dishonesty of all kinds prevail to a great extent; and the women are devoid of that delicacy and

seclusion which prevail among the sex in other parts of Bengal.

We have reserved the castes and tribes of Bengal Proper last for enumeration, as being by far the most important. Here, as elsewhere, the population consists of Hindus and Mahomedans; but the proportion between them, unlike what it is in other places, is nearly equal—being eighteen to seventeen millions respectively. The principal Hindu castes, in the order of precedence, are: (1) Bráhmans, (2) Káyasths, (3) Vaidyas. It is said that Ráját Ádisoor, finding the Bráhmans of the country engaged in low-caste occupations, and incapable of performing religious ceremonies from ignorance, invited to his kingdom five learned Bráhmans from Kanouj, named respectively Bhatta Náráyana, of the Sándilya family; Daksha, of the Kasyápa family; Chándava, of the family of Batsya; Sriharsa, of the family of Bharadwaja; and Vedagarba, of the Sávaryna family. These came down with their wives and children, amounting to fifty-nine persons in number. Villages and lands were assigned for their maintenance; and their descendants were divided into classes, and constitute the high-caste Bráhmans of the country—the low-caste or original Bráhmans in it being distinguished from them by the name of Saptasati Bráhmans. The classification was made in the age of Bullál Sen, the fourth or fifth in descent from Ádisoor. The high-caste Bráhmans were divided into the three divisions of Rárhi, Bárendra, and Vaidik—the divisions of Rárhi and Bárendra being so named after the tracts of land in which those Bráhmans had respectively settled. The Rárhis were subdivided into Kulins, Srotriyas, and Bangshajes; and the Bárendras into Kulins, Srotriyas, and Kánps. The Vaidiks were originally priests, or readers of the Veds, to the Kanouj Bráhmans. Some say that they came from Kanouj at a later time, on the invitation of Áditya Subbudhi Náráyana, a ráját of Sylhet. In the classification of Bullál Sen, they retained the duties of *pundits* and astronomers; and it was not found necessary to subdivide them, as none of the class

had in any way degraded themselves. Of this tribe was Chaitanya, the greatest of the modern reformers of Bengal.

The Káyasths, the second class in the order of precedence, are said to be descended from the Sudras, but this origin is scouted by themselves, and a higher rank claimed, which the frequent mention made of them in the old sacred books of the country, known by the name of the *Smritis*, seems to authorize. Their own version is that they are descended from Chitra-gupta, the Indian Radhamanthus, who was produced from *Káyá*, or the body of Bruhmá, and that their proper position in the social order is next to that of the Kshetriyas. Five members of the tribe came down from Kanouj with the five pure Bráhmans already referred to, namely Purusuttum Dutt with Bhatta Náráyana, Kálidás Mitter with Daksha, Dásoorathi Bose with Chándava, Makaranda Ghose with Sriharsa, and Dasarath Goho with Vedagarba. Like the Bráhmans, they also settled in Rárh; and they were eventually divided into two sections, the Utter Ráhris, and the Dakshin Rárhis, or the north and south Rárhis. Besides these, there were two other divisions, known as the Bangaj and Sudra Káyasths, who occupied the eastern districts of Dáccá and Assam, and were considered to be less pure.

The pure Káyasths were divided into classes of Kulins and Mowliks, the former comprising the three subdivisions of Ghose, Bose, and Mitter; and the latter the eight subdivisions of Dey, Dutt, Kerr, Pálit, Sen Singha, Dáss, and Goho. The first main division included, thus, the descendants of three of the five men who came with the Bráhmans from Kanouj, they only having acknowledged servitude to the Bráhmans. The Dutts were as pugnacious as their namesakes, the *daityas*, had been in the past, and held that they were no more servants of the Bráhmans than the Bráhmans were servants to them: for, if Purusuttum Dutt had carried the load of Bhatta Náráyana from Kanouj to Bengal, there was no doubt that Bhatta Náráyana had cooked for him all the way. This contumacy was punished

by Bullál Sen by including the Dutts among the Mowliks. The Gohos were also placed in the same grade (as last on the list) on account of the resemblance of their generic name with that of Guha, the king of the Nishádi, or Chandáls, spoken of in the *Rámáyana;* but they were made chief of the Bangaj, or aboriginal Káyasths of Dáccá and Assam. Besides these there are a great many other subdivisions in the present day, seventy-two in number, which are all of inferior rank. The Káyasths throughout the country are numerically very strong, and are intelligent and respectable, and chiefly employed as clerks, *mohurers*, and accountants—reading and writing having been their only pursuits from generation to generation.

The Vaidyas rank next to the Káyasths, but protest strongly against the classification. They are the first of the Barnasankars, or the impure and casteless tribes, deriving their origin from a mixture of the Bráhman with the Vaisya blood; and, assuming that the Káyasths also are Barnasankars, they claim the first place for themselves. Ráját Bullál Sen belonged to this order himself, and conceded the position thus claimed; but subsequent generations have upset his award, though the Vaidyas themselves adhere to it with great pertinacity. The Vaidyas are a wealthy class, the profession of a physician followed by them being in all countries a thriving one; but they have been always regarded as crafty and miserly.

After the three primary classes come in the Nabasáks, or nine pure castes, from whose hands a Bráhman will receive water to drink. They all pretend to be pure Sudras, though in reality pure Sudras do not exist any more than pure Kshetriyas and Vaisyas. They are—(1) Tántees, or weavers; (2) Shánkáris, or shell-cutters; (3) Sonárs or Sakrás, workers in gold and silver; (4) Kámárs, or blacksmiths; (5) Kánsáris, or braziers; (6) Koomars, or potters; (7) Satgopes or *goálás* (milkmen); (8) Málákars, comprising gardeners and flower-sellers; and (9) Nápits, or barbers, who are also surgeons!

As for the impure castes, they are too many to be named,

and, moreover, differ widely in different districts. The more important among them are, first, degraded Bráhmans, such as Áchárjyas and Gonocks—that is, genealogists and astrologers; Agrodáni Bráhmans and Bháts, who attend on funeral ceremonies; and Pirális, or Bráhmans who were discasted by the Mahomedans by being forced to eat or smell beef. Next are the Chuttris, who call themselves Kshetriyas, and are scattered through several districts in small numbers. After these, come the Bunneáhs of both classes —namely, dealers in money and spices respectively; Sooris, or wine merchants; Kybartas,* or ploughmen; Dhobás, or washermen; Chooturs, or carpenters; Koloos, or oilmen; and all the labouring castes of fishermen, tanners, sweepers, jugglers, &c., including Mughs, descendants of the freebooting buccaneers who devastated the Backergunj Soonderbuns in days of yore.

Among the lower castes of Bengal must also be enumerated the Vysnubs, who, theoretically speaking, recognise no caste at all. The word Vysnub simply means a follower of Vishnu; and a large number of men belonging to all grades of society follow the religion, retaining their respective castes. But the fundamental teachings of the sect ignore the distinctions of caste; any one can become a Vysnub. There are stories extant of two Mahomedans, named Rup and Sonátun, having been converted, and of their afterwards becoming heads of the Vysnub church; and there are ceremonies of initiation whereby caste is expressly and formally renounced by them. The theory of the thing is good; and Chaitanya, who preached the doctrine, had the very highest objects in view—namely, breaking down caste and priestly tyranny. But in reality the Vysnub class does not rank high; of men it only gets the refuse of society, and of women prostitutes.

We have already said that the population of Bengal Proper consists almost equally of Hindus and Mahomedans.

* Some authorities include these among the Nabasáks, along with gardeners, flower-sellers, &c.

The Mussulmans abound in the northern and eastern districts, and constitute the principal body of the inhabitants in several places, especially about the mouth of the Megná. The majority of them are descendants of converts from the lower castes of Hinduism, and may be said to have no religion or rule of life, being completely ignorant of even the elementary doctrines of the Korán. They are divided into communities, according to the occupations they follow, many of the divisions being quite as exclusive as the Hindu castes in regard to marrying and eating with each other. The different classes may be enumerated as—(1) Kussyes, or butchers; (2) Koloos, or oilmen; (3) Joláhs, or weavers; (4) Mális, or gardeners; (5) Hájáms, or barbers; (6) Dhobis, or washermen; (7) Dooli and pálki bearers; (8) jugglers and snake-charmers; (9) Bájikurs, rope-dancers, &c. The idle vagabonds among the Mahomedans are many. Within the last forty years a new sect has sprung up, called Ferázees, which has already spread over the Dáccá, Furreedpore, Báckergunj, and Mymensing districts, and is characterized by intolerance and bigotry, and the most open contempt of authority. As a rule, the Mahomedans are somewhat more robust and healthy than the Hindus, mainly on account of the more nourishing diet to which they are accustomed. They are, if possible, still more given to lying and chicanery than the Hindu Bengalis. Of *bhudar lòk*, or respectable people, the proportion among them is very small. They are always unquiet neighbours, and not like the Hindus, peaceful, temperate, and fond of order. The annual police returns show that while the Hindus furnish criminals at the rate of 1·4 per cent., the Mahomedan rate is as high as 3·1 per cent.

CHAPTER VII.

CONDITION AND DISTINCTIVE TRAITS OF THE PEOPLE.

No one who has had much experience in Bengal can have failed to remark two facts which are peculiarly striking—namely, the richness of the country and the poverty of its inhabitants. It is useless speculating now what the condition of the people possibly was under the ancient Hindu kings. We have no authentic account of those ages, nor any data to help us in forming a correct conclusion on the subject. The fables of antiquity depict the Hindu period as akin to the golden age, when the country abounded in gold and silver, and every inch of it was cultivated, and the people were swarming and happy. Even of the Mahomedan period, which was undeniably one of oppression and anarchy, we have the most fabulous accounts of rural prosperity, the conquerors, who were their own historians, having recorded their achievements in whatever terms pleased them best. One thing, however, is certain, that the causes which have conduced to the results which now everywhere stare us in the face, must have been very long in operation.

The accounts that have come down to us go a great way to prove that, throughout the Hindu period, Bengal was subdivided into a number of petty sovereignties and states; that in these states the succession of dynasties was by no means unfrequent; and that each change of dynasty brought with it a new principle of government, sometimes including a change also of religion. This state of things could not but have been oppressive to the people. The most independent and thriving tenantry cannot long remain so in a state of such unrest; and unrest is, we fear, the word which best expresses the character of the rule which prevailed generally throughout the land. We read that in Magadha,

Ripoonjaya, on finding his barons troublesome, exterminated them, and filled up their places from the lowest grades. We may easily imagine how often the barons in their turn found their tenants unaccommodating, and swept them away from the face of the country, replacing them by others more compliant. There was nothing to prevent them from doing this; except, perhaps, the vigour of a king like Ripoonjaya, which was not always found. The same story also shows that there was no intermediate class between the barons and the lowest grades of society, since the king found it necessary to replace the former out of the latter. So circumstanced, the barons could not but have been all-powerful within their respective estates, and necessarily all-oppressive when not held down by a tight hand. Intermediate classes are absolutely indispensable as buffers between the highest and lowest classes in every well-regulated state.

The Mahomedan era was far worse than the Hindu period. Even in ordinary times it was one of anarchy and confusion; and in extraordinary times, which was its most frequent phase, there was no end of troubles. The quarrels between the Afgháns and the Moguls were incessant; the changes of dynasties were even more rapid than during the Hindu period; and, to crown all, the barons and chiefs had now for the first time no sympathy with the people on their estates. After the Afgháns were displaced from the throne, they settled in different parts of the country, almost as independent colonists. The supremacy of the Moguls was gall and wormwood to them, and their revolts were constant. In Orissá these revolts continued up to 1611. To the poor ryot the whole period was uniformly one of the greatest insecurity and unrest.

Nor was this all. Almost throughout the entire period of Mahomedan misrule there was no police in Bengal worthy of that name. The barons, or chiefs, were the heads of their own police. Where they governed well the people were protected—very well protected; for no *budmásh* was ever powerful enough to defy their authority. But it was

the rule of might, not of right; and where they governed ill, they taught their own underlings to extort and oppress —the lessons thus learnt being always illustrated with fearful effect. Dacoity was a thing almost unknown when the chief was a man of iron will, and the king at the head of the Government opposed to oppression. But where the king was indifferent, and the immediate head of the state wanted money in the easiest manner possible, dacoits went about the land in gangs, no boat could pass a much-frequented river after dark, traffic on the imperial roads had to be protected as in an enemy's country. Towards the close of the Mogul power things became still worse, owing to the irruption of the Mahrattás, who scoured over all the western districts, from Orissá to Bhaugulpore, spreading fire and ruin wherever they went. To read of their rapacity and violence even now, makes the blood run cold.

With all these elements of unrest, was it possible for the people to be anything but poor? Accustomed to all sorts of oppression, liable to be deprived of his hard earnings almost by anybody who considered it worth his while to rob him, was there any inducement for the ryot to work to lay by? All he cared for was to provide himself with the immediate necessities of everyday life. Capital he dared not accumulate, for to do that would have been to court his own destruction. Even the surplus of his raw produce he could not garner without exciting the cupidity of evil men, against whose outrages he had no protection. Scarcities and famines were of constant occurrence, happening whenever there was a deficiency of crops by inundation or drought; the poor had no surplus either of store or money to tide over the day of trouble: the consequence was, that when the crops suffered the people died.

This state of unrest has now ceased, and the condition of the people is improving rapidly. It did not do so earlier, because for a long time, as we shall explain more fully hereafter, the English administration of the country was not an unmitigated boon. Up to 1790 that administration was as bad as it possibly could have been, for it was in truth worse

even than that which had immediately preceded it. All the evils culminated during the first days of the English rule. The officers of the Government were corrupt, and their perquisites exceeded the booty of highway robbers; the zemindárs followed the profession of robbers by choice, and levied a sort of black-mail from their ryots; even the ryots themselves were obliged to turn plunderers, and fell upon those among themselves who were least able to resist. Dacoits went about in gangs of from three hundred to five hundred men, and even bodies of a thousand men were not unknown. Towns were plundered, manufactories burnt; and there was no police, no courts of justice, civil or criminal, to protect or afford redress. When we remember that this was actually the state of things for years, do we not find the poverty of the people, in the midst of milk and honey, accounted for? That poverty is so great that the lower classes in many places even now reckon all their accounts in *cowries*, a small white shell, which serves as a sufficient medium for all their dealings with each other. Till recently, an authorized traffic in slaves existed in the country, and the poorer classes, particularly widows, actually sold their children to procure food.

Among the other extraneous causes which may have assisted in producing the result we have noticed, are mentioned: (1) the law regarding the subdivision of property as it operates in Bengal; and (2) the inordinate expenses the people of all classes unnecessarily incur in *poojáhs*, marriages, and funerals. As regards the first, it must be observed that the laws of primogeniture being unjust in principle, their absence in Bengal is not to be regretted, even though the equal division of property among all children may have contributed in some degree to the gradual impoverishment of the nation. The second statement, if not wholly correct, is so to this extent, that the expenses incurred on account of marriages are very great, and do constitute one of the principal causes of indebtedness among the humbler classes, the only excuses for them being the inordinate fondness of the people for their children, and

their equally inordinate love for shows, pageants, and festive amusements. As for expenses on account of funerals and *poojáhs*, they are heavy only among the rich, who, it may be presumed, are able to afford them, and who, apart from these expenses, are extremely parsimonious, except in their fondness for equipage and a retinue, which borders on insanity even among those whose living in private is close almost to meanness. Relatively speaking, the expenses of the rich are not in proportion to those of the poor.

Compared with each other, the ryots of Behár seem, as a rule, to be better off than those of Bengal.* Both are always more or less in debt; but the debts of the former are generally petty, while those of the latter are often very considerable, the interest they have to pay to the money-lender eating up their substance. The former being more robust than the latter, and addicted to the use of arms, are also less troubled with illegal exactions, against which the latter have perpetually to contend. An illegal tax can, of course, be contested in a court of justice; but the zemindár has the power of enhancing the rents, and this, which would be perfectly legal, would be felt by the ryot as far more oppressive than the occasional imposition of an illegal burden. In Behár, the landlord is afraid to exact either one or the other, as he knows that the demand is sure to be refused and contested, not in a court of justice, but by force. But, in Bengal, the zemindár is able to enforce almost anything that he has a mind to, and the ryot has no refuge except in his forbearance. There is not much love lost between the parties in either place; but, in Behár, the zemin-

* The exceptions to this rule have been somewhat remarkable of late, but are attributable mainly to the frequency of cases of scarcity in Behár. It seems that the fertility of Behár is deteriorating day by day, or rather that the resources of Bengal are being better developed, from the Bengali being less conservative than his neighbour of Behár. Rack-renting is also telling unfavourably in Behár. In Bengal, the peasantry are best off in the eastern districts, principally on account of the absence of indigo-planting in them.

dárs and their tenants respect each other, a feeling which is not inimicable to mutual attachment and a confederation of interests in case of need, which accounts for the devotion the people of Jugdespore evinced for Kooer Sing and Umur Sing during the mutiny of 1857, the like of which it would be very difficult to evoke from the ryots of Bengal, whose feeling towards their zemindárs is one of unmitigated distrust.

The people of the Behár district are also naturally more honest than those of Lower Bengal, and by their better condition exemplify the truth of the adage, that honesty is the best policy after all. Somehow or other they manage to live better in all respects, as they eat better, dress better, and are better housed. In the interior of the country, houses of brick are rare, equally throughout Bengal and Behár, most of the buildings being made only of bamboos and mud. No one under the degree of a tálookdár would think of having a *puccá* (masonry) house. But in Behár there are more tiled huts than in Bengal; and even those which are thatched, though not so pretty-looking as the cottages in Bengal, are more commodious, and safer as protections against the sun and weather, and altogether more convenient. Similarly, of furniture there is very little available to either; yet the little that belongs to the ryot of Behár is, as a rule, better and more substantial than what the Bengal ryot can boast of. All the furniture that the latter possesses is a mat of split bamboos to sit upon, a *máchán* (or stage formed of bamboos) covered with a mat to sleep upon, and a few earthen pots and cooking utensils. The *khátteáh*, or couch, of the up-country ryot, is more convenient than the Bengali *máchán;* and, oftentimes, his cottage can also produce a wooden stool to sit upon, and brass plates and drinking-vessels, besides the usual earthen pots used for culinary purposes.

We do not know whether it is mainly on account of their poverty, or on account of the peculiarity of their climate, that greater nakedness prevails among the people of Bengal than among those of Behár. The ordinary female dress in

Lower Bengal is the *sáree*—one piece of cloth between nine and ten cubits long, and two and a half cubits broad, which is worn round the waist, one end covering the shoulders and head. This is also the dress used in Orissá and Assam; but in Orissá the cloth is worn less delicately than in Bengal, as it never goes below the knees, and is so fastened round the waist as to display much of the person above. The women in Behár dress better, wearing in some places a petticoat (*ghágrá*), a bodice (*ángá*), and a veil (*urná*); and in other places, a petticoat, and a wrapper which covers the head and body without covering the face. The gown (*peishwáz*) is also worn, but only by Mahomedan ladies and by dancing-girls. Of men the ordinary dress everywhere is the *dhooti*, which is wrapped round the middle of the body and tucked up between the legs, while a part of it hangs down in front a good deal below the knees. A *chádur* is also used by people who can afford to have one, and is worn over the shoulders, and occasionally stretched over the head, which has no other covering. The full dress of men is the *jorá*, consisting of trousers (*ijár*), shirt (*kortá*), outer coat (*jámá*), sash (*kumurbund*), and turban (*pugri*). This is more largely worn by the Hindustánis than by the Bengalis. The Mahomedan full dress is similar; in fact, the Hindu full dress has been borrowed mainly from the Mahomedans, neither Bengal nor Behár having originally had any dress beyond the primeval *dhooti* and *chádur* of which we have spoken.

Mahomedans, both men and women, wear shoes. The Hindu ladies of Behár wear sandals or gaudy slippers, but those of Bengal (including Orissá and Assam) have generally no sort of protection for their feet. The poorer classes, male and female, go barefooted, especially in Bengal, where the people cannot afford to have what they consider a luxury, though elsewhere a pair of shoes is regarded as an absolute necessary of life. In the matter of ornaments the people are more reckless; and the man who cannot afford to buy shoes for himself, willingly pays for what he considers indispensable for decking out his wife or daughter. The

ornaments of course differ according to circumstances, the poorer classes having everything made of brass, bell-metal, pewter, or glass; while the rich are decorated with gold and silver, corals, pearls, and gems. The jewels worn by Mahomedan ladies of rank differ from those used by Hindu ladies. In general terms it may be remarked that the Hindu ladies are fond of gold and silver, and the Mahomedan ladies of pearls and diamonds. In some districts, among the Hindus of the lower classes, tattooing the body like an Otaheitan, though in a lesser degree, is in fashion; nay, there are places in which no pure Hindu will drink water out of a girl's hand who is not thus adorned. The marks are the *oolki* on the forehead, and some flourishes on the arms, shoulders, and breast.

The manners of the women in Behár are generally very strict, but the men are exceedingly jealous notwithstanding. The conduct of Bengali and Ooryáh women is also exemplary, and they have both for the most part the felicity of not having jealous bedfellows. The ethics of Assam in this respect are rather peculiar; the women have not a very good name, but the men are not jealous. The marriages in Bengal and Behár (and as a general rule in Orissá also) take place before puberty—generally when the girls are between eight and eleven years old; but, notwithstanding this, the people of Behár at least are strong and tall. It has been the fashion of late years to attribute all the evils of life in Bengal to early marriages. Doubtless an early marriage is, as a rule, much to be condemned; but it seems somewhat absurd to impute to it every evil under the sun. It is true that the Bengali is not as robust as the European, or as an up-country native of India; but similarly, the Bengali bull is not equal in strength and size to an English or Hurriánah bull—nor the sheep and goats of Bengal, or cats either, equal to those of England or Upper India. Why, then, in the first case only, should the imperfection be attributed to early marriages, and not, as in the other cases, to climate alone? We do not advocate early matrimony; though we cannot deny that it has

certain advantages which should not be ignored—one of which is, that the husband gets an uncontaminated wife to start with, which cannot be said to be the case in fifty per cent. of the marriages contracted later in life, if the evidence furnished by the books on prostitution is to be trusted. In certain places in Bengal itself, or rather in Assam, marriages do not take place till after the attainment of puberty; and the consequence there is, that bastard children are often born before wedlock. This exposes the unmarried mother to censure, but does not render her unmarriageable for life. Notwithstanding such *contretemps*, however, we accept the general verdict that the continuance of early marriages in Bengal is not desirable. Prostitution is not very extensive in the country at present, and it may be hoped that morality will not suffer to any considerable degree by the extension of the marriageable age beyond its present limit. The prostitute classes are now mainly replenished from the ranks of the Mahomedans, Koolin Bráhmans, and widows of all classes; and will probably continue to be drawn from those sources only, without trenching on virgin ground.

The diet of the people requires notice. Ordinarily it is exceedingly simple and light—the food consisting mainly of rice, wheat, or other grains, and fish; and the drink of water and milk. The quantity of butcher's meat and poultry consumed is very small, and is confined to the Mahomedans. The high-caste people in Behár do not take even fish. This prejudice against meat has arisen probably from a conviction that butcher's meat is not the food best adapted to the climate. On this point opinions are at conflict. We, for ourselves, accept the impression of the majority, that vegetable food well seasoned, with the addition of fish, and water for drink, comprise the diet best adapted to the climate; but we do not condemn the adverse conclusion of those who recommend a diet including animal food and strong liquor in moderate quantities, as necessary for resisting the influence of malaria and the sudden changes

of the atmosphere, to both of which the country is much exposed.

The only meat the Hindus use is that of goats and deer, and most Hindus will not use the first except when the animal has been sacrificed before an idol. Venison, being more hard to get, is held to be sanctified whether the animal be killed before an idol or not; but, unfortunately, no one makes a profession of deer-hunting; and so, practically, deer's flesh is in little use. Snipes, plover, and water-fowl abound, but are not eaten by the higher castes; and fowls and swine are not used by any classes except the very lowest, though Young Bengal is breaking through these prejudices rapidly, and with sturdy goodwill.

The common fare of the poorer classes consists of rice and *dál* (pulses), seasoned with a few wild herbs. In some places, as in Orissá, the rice is steeped in cold water after being boiled, and is not eaten till the second day, when it becomes slightly acid. In a country where the supply of fish is abundant, and where oil-seeds of all descriptions are plentiful, there are districts where the poor can only occasionally procure the luxuries of oil or fish. Onion and garlic are used to make the food savoury; but some classes of Hindus will not have them. Milk is abundant everywhere, but still the poor get little of it. The luxury of a daily use of *ghee*, or butter, falls only to the lot of the very highest classes. There are men even so poor that they cannot pay for their salt, and substitute the ashes of plants and herbs to season their food with. Fruits are plentiful and cheap in the country, and are largely eaten.

The use of tobacco is almost universal among the men; as also is the luxury of chewing *pán* among all, men and women, who can pay for it. The *pán* comprises a pungent leaf known as betel, the areca-nut, spices, lime, and catechu, some of the ingredients having narcotic qualities, while they altogether produce an exhilaration of spirits, which accounts for the fondness shown for the compound by all classes of the people, especially in Assam. Women nowhere

smoke, except those of the lowest classes; but there is no prohibition against chewing tobacco and its preparations. The practice of drinking distilled spirituous liquors has become rather extensive, and was not unknown in olden times; but the race of drunkards is confined to the metropolitan cities. Of intoxicating drugs the *gánjá* is the cheapest, and therefore the one most extensively used.

The manners and customs of the people have been largely written upon, and may be dismissed with a few words. The Shástras inculcate a great respect for parents; and for ages the injunctions on this point have been loyally observed, though a slight departure from them has begun to be noted on the part of Young Bengal, which, correctly or incorrectly, is attributed to his English education. Parents, also, are well attached to their children, and discharge their duties to them with much affection, though possibly not with as much discretion as could be wished. The attachment of wives for husbands, and, in a lesser degree, of husbands for wives, is pretty much the same as in most other countries; and, if the lot of women be not a very happy one, that is not so much owing to want of affection on the part of their liege-lords as to conventional restrictions, many of which are fast dying out. The hardship of the widow's lot is great; but the remarriage of widows is now authorized by law, and nothing more can be done for their relief by extraneous aid. In their dealings with each other, all classes of men are uncommonly civil. Women do not join the society of men, but no complete seclusion is observed except among the higher classes. Of marriages we have spoken already; the ceremonies observed are many, but are generally very puerile, and few of them require to be recapitulated. The hands of the bride and bridegroom are joined with a blade of sacred (*kusa*) grass; the bride's father tells the bridegroom that he gives away his daughter to him for good; the bridegroom responds to this by saying that he accepts the gift with love; garlands are then exchanged, and the marriage is declared to be indissoluble. Although early married, the

women generally do not get their first child before their sixteenth or seventeenth year; though there are, of course, exceptional cases of earlier maternity, the first child having been delivered so early as in the thirteenth year.

Children generally go to school when five or six years old, and are simultaneously instructed to read and write. The course of tuition commences by writing on the floor with a white crayon (*khurimáti*); then on palm-leaves with ink; then on plantain-leaves; and, finally, on paper, which concludes the course. Bengali children are much more intelligent than those of Behár, Orissá, and Assam—nay, even more so than European children; but much is not done to cultivate this intelligence, and it is rarely indeed that traces of it remain in after-years. In general, parents are quite satisfied if their children are found apt in understanding figures. The *pátsála* only teaches them a little of accounts and letter-writing. The pen is made of a reed or bamboo-twig. The Bengali ink, which is made of the cheapest materials, is better than the best ink made in Europe, preserving its colour unaltered for centuries. English manuscript papers of a hundred years old are scarcely readable. The writings of the Bengalis of twice that age appear as fresh as if they had been written within the year. Of books, the Bengalis had none some thirty years ago; but, as we have stated elsewhere, they have since created a language and literature of their own. The language and literature of the people of Behár are the same as those of the provinces further to the north-west, and both are of long standing. The schools in all places are cheap; and often the schoolmaster is paid in kind—that is, with grain and uncooked vegetables. This, we mean, is the form of tuition for the mass. Schools on a more methodical plan have now been established everywhere, both by the Government and the people themselves, but these are not resorted to by the poorer classes.

Generally, it is considered highly improper to bestow any literary education on women; and no man would marry a girl who was known to be capable of reading or writing, it

being believed that the knowledge of the wife would shorten the life of her husband. This prejudice, in the nature of things, could not last, and is fast wearing out. In the metropolitan cities the tables have been turned already, and girls who have received some sort of education are more sedulously sought for than those who have received none. Such education as the ladies have attained has not been unproductive of advantages. When the mistress of the house understands accounts, the rascality of servants is checkmated at once. For some reason or other, men are nowhere able to make time to look after their expenses; a good housewife is therefore indispensable, since good servants are not plentiful in any part of the world. Speaking of servants, we may mention that it is becoming more and more difficult now to get them in Bengal than it used to be. The agricultural ryots, or small farmers, are a more numerous class in most districts than labourers for hire; and in metropolitan cities good female servants are scarcely to be had, while the only male servants available come either from the North-Western Provinces, or from Orissá. The conclusion is inevitable that the people of Bengal Proper now get more lucrative employment than service, and the result must be to improve their condition in a few years.

The distribution of the people into classes has been already noticed. The rigours of caste are now nowhere very strong, except in Bengal Proper, *minus* its metropolitan towns. In Behár, except Bráhmans, none of the other castes create any difficulties about sweetmeats, *pán*, the *chillum*, or water being polluted. The Ooryáhs are very conservative in all respects, but never cared much for the restrictions of caste; and it is a principle with them that all castes can eat together in the temples and other sacred places. Assam is, if possible, still more liberal, as many articles are there used for food which would outcast any man in Behár or Orissá. In Bengal Proper all the innovation hitherto made has emanated from Young Bengal, but it is permeating effectually through every nook and corner of the country.

An account of the condition of the people will scarcely

be complete without some reference to their amusements. Active games there are none anywhere, except among the Mahomedans of the lower classes, and among schoolboys, who indulge freely in wrestling, and in the sports named *kabádi* and *gooli-dandá*, the first of which is a mock combat carried on between two parties, and the second something like the bat-and-ball play with ruder implements. By the people generally these amusements are not resorted to, except at fairs and festivals. The other outdoor amusements are kite-flying and angling, both of which are much liked and persistently pursued. Of the sedentary indoor-amusements the most important are cards, chess, *páshá*, and the games of *chutooranga* and *pucheesi*. The wild-tribes and aborigines on the eastern and western frontiers are passionately fond of dancing and singing; and so, to some extent, are all men of the lower orders everywhere, the use of musical instruments, as accompaniments to the dance or song, being also common. In Behár, women of all ranks sing at marriages and festivals, but never play on instruments; the men, on the other hand, do not even sing, and no person of character, either male or female, will dance. In Bengal, these amusements are altogether vetoed, and neither men nor women will sing or dance, or perform on musical instruments, except those who live a dissipated life. A man of learning or gravity will not even honour convivial parties of this description with his presence, except when they are celebrated on festive occasions, or in connection with religious rites and ceremonies.

The treatment of the dead requires no lengthy notice. The Hindus burn their dead; the Mahomedans bury them. Of the Hindus some religious orders bury their dead, but in a sitting posture—cross-legged. In all places along the banks of sacred rivers the dying Hindus are carried to the river-side, but not so elsewhere, as a general rule. After death the body is bathed, perfumed, decked with flowers, and placed on the funeral pyre, which is then lighted by a son or other near relative. The Mahomedan practice of burial has nothing particular in it to be noted.

The character of the people varies in different places, and cannot be very accurately delineated in general terms. The people inhabiting the mountainous and unfertile regions are hardy and laborious; while those inhabiting the moist climates, with their double crops of rice and infinite variety of pulses, are indolent and effeminate. As to distinctive traits, the people of Behár may in the main be described as naturally more honest than those of Bengal; but they are also more quarrelsome, and there are races still amongst them who live by violence. The people of the Chotá Nágpore division may, similarly, be characterized as simple, honest, and truthful; but they are ignorant and illiterate in the extreme. The Ooryáhs are, at the same time, unintelligent and boorish. The Assamese are weak, effeminate, and dishonest. In Bengal Proper, the principal vices of the people are untruthfulness, cunning, and, in the metropolitan towns, litigiousness also; but they have the counterbalancing virtues of quiet and orderly habits, faithfulness in service, and freedom from gross excesses of every description.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND FESTIVALS.

MANY good books have been written on the subject of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions; and these contain detailed information regarding the deities and saints worshipped or revered, which it would have been comparatively easy for us to epitomise for the purposes of this chapter. But the religion, as described in books, is not the religion of the people, and the religion of one province is not quite akin to the religion of another. It will not suffice, therefore, to recapitulate what is to be found in books, which only give the theory of the thing, and not the thing as it actually exists in practice at this moment.

In general terms, the prevalent Hindu religion of Bengal (apart from the monotheism of students and philosophers) may be described as an idol-worship of the most extravagant kind, the objects adored being the powers of nature expressed in a variety of forms, and occasionally in a manner too gross to answer the purposes of morality. The Mahomedan religion may similarly be described as a standing protest against idolatry, enjoining emphatically the worship of one God, and of Him alone, and explicitly commanding the wholesale destruction of idols and unbelievers. The general conclusion, therefore, is correct, that the two religions are diametrically opposed to each other. They were so opposed at the outset, and that led to the conquest of India by the Mahomedans. They were so opposed for centuries after, which gave occasion to bloody wars and grinding oppression. In theory they are equally antagonistic at this moment, and considerable ill-will boils up at times in the minds of their respective followers, which is only prevented from breaking out into actual mischief by the fear of an indifferent arbitrator superior to both parties in power.

Notwithstanding all this apparent hostility, however, we assert advisedly that, in the Bengal Presidency at least, the two religions are at this moment actually on very amicable terms, and that this amity promises to be still more cordial in time, and possibly may become lasting. The Hindu is exceedingly tolerant; the Mahomedan of Bengal, who was originally one by conversion only, has long ceased to be fanatical: and advances and concessions on both sides are gradually lessening the distance that existed between them. The Hindu visits all the *pirasthán* of the Mahomedans to do honour to the saints, and the Mahomedan applies to all the Hindu deities and saints for favour and protection when supplications to his own are found to be ineffectual: the former practises the black art which he has learnt from the Moor, while the latter wears on his arm the charmed amulet used by the Hindu to scare away the evil-eye. Nay, more, the two peoples have managed between them to set up one common object of worship, who is called by the Hindus *Satya-náráyan*, the true Lord—and by the Mahomedans, *Satyapir*, or the true saint; and they have mutually adopted many of each other's religious prejudices.

Of course each party still adheres to its own religion loyally, and would repel any charge of disaffection with great indignation; but the articles of their faith, as now understood and maintained, will not bear the test of any close comparison with the strict injunctions of their respective creeds. The Korán has no reverence except for the living God, abominates idols, and admits no sort of religious service apart from fasts and prayers. The Mahomedans accordingly profess no adoration except for the God of the Korán, and observe faithfully the fasts of the Rámzán, Eed, and Mohurrum; but, over and above all this, they also worship saints, or *revere* them,—that being the more convenient word. These saints are as plentiful in number as the gods of the Hindus, they have monuments dedicated to them, and offerings called *Srini* are made to them to conciliate their favour. Apart from these monuments, there are also mosques all over the land for the adoration of God;

but it is a difficult question to settle whether in the mosques or in the monuments the adoration is more fervent. Similarly, the Hindu is constant in his devotion to his own gods, of whom the number is uncountable; but not a week passes in which the anxious housewife does not pay her dole to *Mooshkilláshán*, or other Mahomedan *pir*, to tide the family over all their little difficulties; and who shall say that her faith in the latter is less stanch than in the former?

The chief agents of the Mahomedan religion are the *Kázis*, and after them the *Moolláhs*, or priests. But the religious persons most respected throughout the country are the mendicants, called *fakirs*, who have charge of the monuments dedicated to the saints. These monuments are generally of two kinds—namely, *durgáhs* or cenotaphs, and *kuburs* or tombs. At both indiscriminately offerings are made; and often, very often, in imitation of the idolatrous practices of the Hindus, rude images of horses are placed prominently in view as tangible objects of reverence. Besides this, offerings are also made to the pagan gods in their own temples, to coax out what the Mahomedan saints may seem averse to concede. This, then, we say, is the aspect of religion in Bengal: the Hindus, in addition to their own gods, pay homage to the saints of the Mahomedans; and the Mahomedans, departing from the strict letter of the Korán, not only worship saints of their own making, but also venerate, if they do not expressly worship, all the gods and saints whom the Hindus have set up. It is only when there is a quarrel between the two races that their religions part from each other with a thunder-clap; and then of course the Hindu hastens to defile the mosque of his opponent with pig's blood, and the Mahomedan to place cow's flesh in the temple of the *Lingam*.

In Behár the worship of *pirs*, or saints, is not much known; and the higher ranks of the Mahomedans abstain from making offerings to the pagan gods in their own temples, though the lower ranks in all their distresses have recourse to them. The only occasions when this is expressly

avoided even by the latter, are those of the three great festivals—the Rámzán, Eed, and Mohurrum—when, for the time only, the Mahomedans of all classes affect to be inveterate haters of idolatry. The fast of the Rámzán is generally kept inviolate, though few fast every day throughout the month, as they are required to do; and both during this festival and the Eed, the people of the lower orders, who are usually much addicted to the use of spirituous liquors and palm-wine, eschew them, to resume them again when the festivals are over. Abstinence to the same extent is not ordinarily observed during the Mohurrum, but no sort of concession to idolatry is then made. The fact is, these great festivals give the guinea's stamp to a man's reputation for religion, and all men, therefore, are, during their continuance, naturally most anxious to exhibit their orthodoxy in the best light. But that orthodoxy is generally as short-lived as the show, and will not repay any search made for it after the show is at an end. The *tázeáhs* during the Mohurrum are numerous in Behár. They are paraded through the streets with the usual amount of tumult and violence, after which they are kept by, not thrown away; and the same *tázeáh* thus answers from year to year. The Hindus join these processions freely for fun's sake, and there used to be fights from fun between them and the Mahomedans in the olden times. The contests were more violent between the Sheáhs and the Soonis; but the Government has now put down these disturbances everywhere with a strong hand.

The laxity in Bengal Proper is much greater than in Behár. In Bengal, the Hindus send offerings to *Satya-pir*, and the Mahomedans to *Satya-náráyan*, daily, without stint and without any effort at concealment; and the same personage is worshipped by the two races, almost in the same manner—though the services read are different. The number of monuments to the saints idolized are also considerably greater than in Behár, and the images of horses figure more largely in all the monuments throughout the country. The songs relating to the saints are sung by all

classes; they attribute to them the power of curing all sorts of diseases, and of helping in all sorts of difficulties. The temptation to adore them is therefore irresistible, and is not resisted.

The five grand points of the Mahomedan law are prayer, ablution, study of the Korán, pilgrimage, and fasting. The Bengal Mahomedans do not even pretend to follow the law in all these essentials. The third and the fourth are very little regarded—the pilgrimage falling entirely to the share of the *fakirs*, who naturally wander about much in their begging. The first two are observed by all, because they are so easy of observance that it would be wanton folly to neglect them. The last is also generally attended to, but in the same sense as in Behár—that is, the fasts are not very strictly kept throughout the month; nay, in Bengal it is considered sufficient if they are observed for two or three days only.

The celebration of the Mohurrum in Bengal is a grander affair than in Behár—the approach to idolatry being nearer. The *tázeáhs* are less in number, but much larger in size, and more showy. In several districts the Hindus not only join, but take part in the processions, howling and beating their breasts as devoutly as the Mahomedans; while the Mahomedans repay the compliment by playing with red-powder at the *Holi*, and by dragging the car of Jagganáth at the *Rath* festival. Unlike the practice observed in Behár, the *tázeáhs* in Bengal, like the Hindu idols, are thrown away when the festival is over; and the resemblances in other respects are so great that it is doubtful if the Mahomedan of Lower Bengal really remembers his religion to be different from that of the Hindu, except when he repeats the *kulmá*, or sits down to a *déjeuner* of beef and poultry.

The imitations in the matter of caste are equally close, and this we have noticed already. No Bengal Mahomedan will eat with infidels, or intermarry with tribes which follow disagreeable professions; and many tribes, such as *kussyes*, *dooryáhs*, and *hájáms*, are condemned to perpetual exclusion from rank and respectability. A good many

Mahomedans have also commenced to hold birds and animals in veneration after the Hindus; and the tiger especially is respected by them as the chosen agent of their saints. They are further abandoning their faith in pilgrimages, though this is not in imitation of the Hindus, who are very fond of them. The most celebrated Mahomedan pilgrimage in Bengal is to Peruáh, near Gour; but few take the trouble to go there now: and a journey to Meccá is, of course, out of the question. The Ferázees, the puritans among the Mahomedans, belong to Bengal; but their puritanism consists only in outward show. They dress differently from the other Mahomedans, wrap their *dhooti* round the body without crossing it between the legs, love falsehood with an uncompromising love, and are troublesome as often as they can conveniently manage to be so. But, in other respects, they are not distinguishable from the rest of the Mussulman population of Bengal.

In Assam the Mahomedans have departed still more from the strictness prescribed by their religion; so much so, that they are considered by the Mahomedans of Bengal, lax as the latter are themselves, to be totally unworthy of the Moslem name. Any further notice of them, therefore, is unnecessary. The number of Mahomedans in Orissá is too small to require particular attention.

The above is all the account we have to give of the Mahomedan religion as we find it in Bengal. Our description of the Hindu religion will be nearly as brief. Its principal feature, apart from the theoretical ordinances of the Shástras, is the worship of *grám-devatás* (village-gods), *ganas*, or whatever they are called in different places. There are no temples now for Bruhmá, Vishnu, Doorgá, Ganesa, Kártika, or Indra. Of the book-gods—if we may so call them—Siva, Káli, and Lakshmi alone retain their hold still on the popular mind. For the rest there are set festivals to be performed at particular times, in which they are all remembered by name, but no distinct worship for each, the deities for everyday worship being the *grám-devatás*, who are universally applied to in all cases of danger and

distress. Men of rank pretend, indeed, not to attach much importance to these divinities; but offerings are nevertheless always made by them and their families to propitiate their favour: and the lower orders follow the lead of the higher classes in this as in other respects with greater devotion. *Griha* or family *devatás* are also common, each man worshipping a particular divinity in his own house; and in the Behár districts the worship of *bhoot-devatás*, or ghosts, is exceedingly widespread,—and probably several of the observances in Gyáh owe their origin to this superstition. The actual religious ceremony, called *poojáh*, is nearly the same in all cases. If performed at night, there are plenty of lamps blazing with consecrated butter, which give a charm to the scene. Many pleasing perfumes are burnt, which destroy the unpleasant smell of the burning butter. The tinkling of bells and the shrill strain of the conch serve to scare away evil-spirits that, the Shástras tell us, are ever jealous of the honours paid to the gods, and crowd round the altars to pollute the offerings; while the deep sound of gongs and cymbals make up the rest of the parade.

The *grám-devatás* are too numerous for all of them being separately named—since, as the term indicates, there is generally a separate *devatá* for each *grám* or village; and not unfrequently he is an anonymous deity altogether, having neither name nor form, and being represented only by a lump of clay or cow-dung. Some of the most celebrated of these *devatás* in Behár (and we include *bhoot-devatás* in the enumeration) are at this moment (they are constantly changing) Rám Thákoor, Tulsibar, Bishohari, Tiladana, Parusrám, Dharmadás, Kanudás, and Mulik Beyo —the last being the name of a Mahomedan who was connected with the conquest of the province, whom, with a degree of toleration of which the Hindu alone is capable, the priests have canonized and converted into a *devatá*. The worship of all these deities takes the form of daily *poojáhs* and sacrifices.

The other religious manifestations among the Behár

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Hindus which require notice are the festivals named *Holi*, *Dewáli*, and *Dasahárá*. Of these, the *Holi* is the most important. It is held in honour of the spring, when, on the full moon of *Fálgoon* (March), burnt-offerings are made to the gods to bespeak their protection from Dhundá Rákshasi, who revives with the breath of spring, and is apt to become mischievous. This is the legend current in Behár, but that which obtains in Bengal is totally different. The great sport of the festival consists in squirting red-liquid through syringes, and throwing red-powder against each other, and in singing filthy songs continuously for about a week before and a week after the day of offering. All, except very old men, join in these obscenities; and, while the men indulge in this manner outside their houses, the women do so within, singing and abusing each other with even greater indecency than the men, whom, however, they, for obvious reasons, do not admit to their parties. The *Holi* is a personification of Nature wantoning in her prime, or rather in the renovation of her powers in spring; and this accounts for the licentious mirth that accompanies its celebration.

The next important festival of Behár, the *Dewáli*, is observed in a manner peculiar to the Hindustánis, the cattle being allowed to take part in the ceremony, with their horns painted and adorned with flowers. Apart from the religious rites, the accompaniments of the festival are feasting and the lighting of lamps, to both of which full justice is done by all classes. On the day following is held the *Goberdhone Poojáh*, or *Anakutjátrá*, when the women collect together and pray to a lump of boiled rice or a mass of cow-dung, made somewhat after the human form.

The *Dasahárá*, or the *Gunjá Poojáh*, consists, as the name implies, in the worship of the sacred river Gungá, or Ganges, on the anniversary of her descent from heaven, and is celebrated in the Behár districts with much ostentation and noise. A second festival, the *Janma Astami*, or the nativity of Krishna, is observed by the Vysnubs, who are usually very jubilant over it. A worship of the sun is

also celebrated with great pomp in the month of *Kártik*, the worshippers being women, who fast twenty-four hours before making their offerings to the luminary. This ceremony is called *Chatká Bharat;* it is unknown in Bengal.

In Behár the *Charak Poojáh* is unknown; and the *Doorgá Poojáh* is not celebrated anywhere except in Tirhoot, where it is unaccompanied by sacrifices, the ceremony consisting merely of fasting and prayer. The only other religious ceremonies which prevail in the province are bathing in holy places and rivers, and pilgrimages. Bathing the body is necessarily more largely indulged in in a warm country like Bengal than in colder climates, and bathing in particular places only combines the luxury with religion—though the luxury ceases to be one when the bathing is in herds, as the Hindus practise it. The pilgrimages of greatest sanctity observed by the people of Behár are to Baidyanáth, in Beerboom; Harihar Chatra, at the junction of the Gunduck and the Ganges; Kangrágolá, at the junction of the Koosi with the Ganges; and Gyáh: exclusive of those to Benáres, Prayága (Alláhábád), and Jagganáth, which are sacred to Hindus in all parts of India. The number of pilgrims to all these places is always very large.

Large meetings are also held occasionally at particular places, for particular purposes, which are sometimes inexplicable, though slenderly connected with religion. One case of this kind is narrated in the Bengal Administration Report for 1865-66, which says that a Tiyar fisherman, named Baiju, having given out that Pámiráj, the god of his caste, had manifested himself to him in visions and ordered the Tiyars to discontinue their trade of fish-catching, the story spread like wildfire, and all the Tiyars of Gházeepore, Benáres, Mirzápore, Monghyr, Bhaugulpore, Tirhoot, Sárun, and other districts, assembled at Gográ, in Purneáh, and offered holy water to the *griha-devatá* of Baiju, and sacrificed some three thousand goats before they separated. The local authorities, being unable to understand the object of the gathering, kept Baiju Tiyar under

surveillance for some time; but no criminality of any kind was proved against him, or against anybody else. The movement was simply a superstitious one; and the Administration Report very naïvely records that a precisely similar commotion had occurred among the Dosádş of Behár, in 1863.

The great festivals of Bengal Proper are the *Doorgá Poojáh*, the *Holi*, and the *Charak*,—with many minor festivals, such as the *poojáhs* of Lakshmi, Káli, Jagadhátri, Kártika, and Seraswáti, none of which requires any notice in detail; the *Siborátri* and the *Rámnavami*, which also can be similarly silently passed over; and the *Deváli*, *Dasahárá*, and *Janma Astami*, which we have noticed in speaking of the ceremonies observed in Behár. The festival named *Doorgá Poojáh* commemorates the destruction of the minotaur, a powerful *daitya*, by Doorgá, the champion of the gods. It is altogether a quiet and decent affair, its only objectionable part being the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes in large numbers. All faces are on the occasion lighted with a smile; every man, woman, and child has got some new clothes or new ornaments to put on; and throughout, the festival is enjoyed with bright faces and great good-humour. The *Holi* is, as elsewhere, a rude sport, accompanied by a great deal of indecency; but the disgusting features of the rite are dying out in Bengal, even though it is there celebrated in remembrance of the loves of Krishna for Rádhay and his other innumerable mistresses. Of the *Charak*, the barbarities have been already put down by the Government; and even the swinging on the pole is now nowhere permitted —so that in a few years this will cease altogether to be numbered with the religious observances extant. The day is now held sacred rather as *Chyte* or *Mahá Bisab Sankránti*—that is, the last day of the year, which the Hindus celebrate in the same manner as the Europeans celebrate their New-Year's Day—friends interchanging civilities with each other, masters and servants exchanging kindly remembrances, and every one accosting his neighbour with a good word and a smile. Of the other festivals, we shall only notice that the

Dewáli is celebrated in Bengal by general illumination, every house and temple being lighted by rows of little lamps along the roofs, windows, and cornices, and often also on bamboo frames; and that during the *Janma Astami* the Vysnubs go mad, but in their own peculiar way—that is, over *bháng, sidhi,* and *charas,* and not over spirituous liquors.

The *griha* and *grám devatás* of Bengal are not very few in number; but, unlike the state of things in Behár, the worship of the *grám-devatás* is considered by the higher classes to be unorthodox, though, to appease the fears of the women, it is quite openly connived at. The names most feared are those of *Sitalá, Sideswari, Mangal-chandi, Bishahari, Bábáthákoor,* and *Olá Bibi;* but there are a great many others, and a hideous face painted at the foot of a tree will always bring together many worshippers from among those who may be passing by.

Of the house-divinities the little stone named *Shálgarám,* consecrated to Vishnu, is the most important. It is found in the Gunduck and Koosi rivers, is very heavy, oval or circular in form, and in colour is often black, but sometimes lighter or approaching to violet. Only a small cavity appears on the outside of the stone, but within it is hollow and almost concave, being furnished in the interior coats with spiral lines which terminate in a point towards the centre. The hollow is the habitation of Vishnu. This little stone is tended as a god; it is anointed, bathed, worshipped, fed, and actually laid in bed to sleep.

Bathing in sacred rivers and going on pilgrimages are both devout occupations in Bengal, as in Behár. We need not stop here to name all the bathing-places which have an odour of sanctity, particularly as they are very numerous; but, among others, Haridwár and Prayága, in Upper India, and Gungáságara in Bengal, may be remembered. The following story regarding a second site in Bengal will explain how very efficacious these places are generally held to be. The river Brahmapootra is, as the fable has it, the son of Bruhmá, by Omega, the wife of Sántanu. The particulars

of the wooing will not bear recital; the affair ended in the production of a holy pool or lake, which was named Brahmakoond, or the pool of Bruhmá. This for ages remained in obscurity, till Parusrám, the great champion of the Bráhmans, passed by it after having exterminated the Kshetriya race. For a while he rested by the lake, leaning on his battle-axe and thinking regretfully of the carnage which surrounded him. Just when his conscience smote him for the mischief he had done, he saw a white cow with a black calf at her side, and listened to the mother upbraiding her child for its blackness, which it had acquired from having accidentally killed a Bráhman. "Go," said the mother, "and bathe yourself in the holy pool, and see if it will not restore your purity." The calf did so, and instantly regained its white colour; whereupon Parusrám followed the example, and was purified.

As it happens that nearly all the rivers and lakes in the country are quite as sacred as the *koond* alluded to, the opportunities of getting purified like Parusrám are constant; but there are a few streams which have to be avoided, having been deliberately pronounced by the Shástras to be impure. Of this character is the river Karumnássá,* in Behár, the story about which is as follows: A certain ráját of the Solar race, named Trisángka, was a great sinner, having murdered a Bráhman and married his own stepmother. These sins were not to be easily expiated; but a good-natured saint undertook to purify him. For this purpose he collected water from all the sacred streams in the world, and the sinner being washed therewith was cleansed. The water, however, was for ever deprived of its virtue; and flowing down, formed the Karumnássá, the impurest of all rivers, though it looks as clear as crystal.

* The rivers thus condemned are four in number, of which three belong to Bengal. They are: the Karumnássá, the waters of which cannot be touched without pollution; the Curátoyá, bathing in which is forbidden; the Gunduck, in which swimming is prohibited; and the Indus, which is not to be crossed.

The places of pilgrimage for the Bengal Hindu are Jagganáth, Káshi (Benáres), Gyáh, Alláhábád, and Kámroop. Of the first and third, detailed accounts have been given, and one of them will be further spoken of shortly; the second and fourth are beyond the limits of Bengal, and do not require any notice here; the fifth is sacred as the place where Siva spent his honeymoon with Párvati. The Hindus of Bengal are also partial to the observance of fasts, which are mainly of four kinds,—namely, (1) those in which the devotee does not eat or drink at all within twenty-four hours; (2) those in which he fasts during the day only, and eats at night; (3) when he consumes nothing but fruits, milk, and water; and (4) when he eats once only during the day and night. Of these the first, as the strictest, is most in fashion; and the observance of the *Ekádasi*, or eleventh lunation, is held to be particularly meritorious.

We now come to Orissá and the great festivals of Jagganáth. From the beginning of things, says the fable, Parmessara, or Jagganáth, dwelt in Utkal-desa in the form of Nilmádava. In the Satya Yug, Indradyamna, a rájáh of Avanti (Oujein), having proceeded to worship him, the image disappeared from the face of the earth. The rájáh was overwhelmed with disappointment; but it was soon after reported that the god had reappeared in the form of a log of *Nim* wood, adorned with the emblems of Vishnu, —namely, *sankha, chakra, gadá, padma;* or conch, discus, mace, and lotus. The sacred axe of Viswakarmá, the architect of the gods, was now besought, and converted the log into the image of Jagganáth; and the rájáh to whom the god was so complaisant, built a temple to house him on the very site on which the present temple stands.

The great festival of Orissá is the *Rath Játrá*, which is also observed in all parts of Bengal Proper with much pomp and ostentation. It commences with what is called the *Snán Játrá*, or the bathing of Jagganáth. The god falls sick immediately after, is laid up with burning fever, and remains in confinement for some fifteen or sixteen days, which gives the Pándás ample time to repaint him. As

soon as he is convalescent, he goes out for a change; and this drive in his car is the festival of great celebrity. Eight days after, he comes back to his own residence; and the return tour is also celebrated with much pomp. None of the other idols worshipped at Orissá receives the same veneration as Jagganáth. There are temples dedicated to Mahádeva at Bhuvanessar, but these are nearly all in ruins. The worship of Jagganáth is the only great festival of the country now, having variations within itself called the *Chandan Játrá*, or the festival of sweet scents; the *Snán Játrá* and *Rath Játrá*, noticed above; the *Jhoolna Játrá*, or the swinging festival; and the *Dole Játrá*, or the *Holi*. In Pooree, it is held sinful to place a pot on the fire for cooking. Every pilgrim must eat the *Maháprasád*, or food consecrated to Jagganáth—a most abominable stuff, unfit for human consumption. Nor is there any pilgrimage from Orissá anywhere—Jagganáth being itself the Jerusalem and Meccá of the Hindus.

The religion of the Buddhas will require no detailed notice in this place. It was for a long time prevalent in Magadha and Assam, and in fact, in a greater or less degree, all over the Presidency; but it is now observed only by a small section of the community known by the name of Jains. The date of its first establishment cannot be very precisely stated. Sákya Muni is said to have entered on his mission in B.C. 588; but the proofs are abundant that Buddhism was understood in several parts of Bengal long before that time. Even conceding that Bráhmanism was the original religion of the country, it is clearly evident that all the kings of the western districts made their first appearance in history as Buddhists; and this in itself gives their religion an earlier date than the sixth century before Christ. Probably, the religion started with, as it assumed the name of, Boodh or Buddha, the son of Soma and grandson of Atri, Sákya Muni distinguishing himself in a later age by giving it a stable foundation in Bengal, which it retained till it was finally rooted out when Sarnáth, near Benáres, was destroyed. It was peculiar as a protest

against superstition and the tyranny of priestcraft. It denied the authority of the Veds, and repudiated the institution of Caste; believed in God, but declared Him to be above the cares and concerns of life; and contended that the chief motive for good works was the hope of obtaining *Mookti*, or salvation, by enfranchisement or expansion. This is mainly the belief also of the Jains, though they have got some additional dogmas of their own. The head-quarters of the Jains are at Parasnáth, with some religious outposts in other places.

We should, perhaps, here refer to the religion of the Bráhmoes, which is based on the tenets of the Upanishads, and unites with a refined conception of the Deity a good ethical code for general observance. This religion is essentially the same as that known to the students and philosophers of India from the age of Vyasa under the name of the Vedánta; but to the Bráhmoes belongs the credit of having so modified it as to make it accord with the present state of knowledge and civilisation. It cannot be said, however, that the religion has secured a strong hold on the country yet; and a lengthened notice of it here is therefore unnecessary.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH RULE: ITS EFFECTS.

We have referred to the origin of the British power in India. It came in opportunely, just when the Mahomedan and Hindu powers had broken their forces against each other, the Mahrattás having broken down the Moguls, and the Afgháns broken down the Mahrattás. The last triumph was with the Afgháns, who defeated the Mahrattás in the battle of Pániput; but they had not the stamina to grasp at empire, and the authority contended for quietly passed into other hands.

The history of the wars and intrigues by which the British power was established in India does not concern us. We shall confine ourselves to a short account of the internal administration of Bengal by the English after they got possession of it. Their first exercise of kingly power was in 1757, when they set up a nawáb of their own in Bengal; and the authority was formally conceded to them by the emperor of Delhi, in 1765, when the entire fiscal administration of the province, together with the administration of civil justice, was made over to them, the criminal and police administrations only being left in the hands of the nawáb, who was made a pensioner of the Company. It was a long time, however, before the English were able to do justice to the charge they undertook; and the nawáb, in the meantime, did nothing beyond drawing his stipend. The fact is, the English authorities at the outset looked upon Bengal simply in the light of a warehouse for carrying on a lucrative business, and regarded the existence of a native population that required to be cared for as a matter of secondary importance, which did not in any way affect the question of profits. The consequence was, that their

first efforts at internal administration smelt only of money, and did not contribute in the smallest degree to mitigate the long-protracted sufferings of the people. Even the revenue which they had undertaken to administer was not well administered. They did not understand the subject, and were obliged to delegate their powers to those who did—namely, to the native zemindárs, who had hitherto acted simply as the collecting *sircárs* of the Mahomedans, which was their recognised position from the time of Moorshed Kooly Khán. The zemindárs, of course, came forward with great alacrity to receive the increased trust, since they had nothing to lose but everything to gain by the powers now assigned to them. They contracted not for the land-revenue only, but for every kind of revenue, undertaking to manage the excise and to regulate the internal trade of the country. The duties of the police, which the nawáb had not taken up, were also left in their hands, together with the adjudication of cases which neither the English officials nor the nawáb had assumed. These arrangements continued in full force till 1772, and in a lesser degree till 1790.

In 1770, there was a great famine in Bengal, but no efforts were made to arrest its virulence. The Company expected the zemindárs to look after the matter; the zemindárs could do nothing. A whole generation of zemindárs were reduced to poverty, and some of the greatest men among them were imprisoned on account of their inability to pay the arrears due from them; a whole generation of ryots were swept away from the face of the earth—almost unnoticed, certainly without the slightest exertion being made for their preservation.

The maladministration of the police was attended with consequences still more fearful. Not only was there no police in the land, but, worse than that, the country swarmed with men who assumed the authority of the police to extort and oppress. Dacoities were of constant occurrence; the zemindárs themselves were dacoits, and levied black-mail; their followers were only too eager to follow in

the wake of their lords. The people of the nawáb, who did not assist in the administration of the laws, would not suffer themselves to be outdone in extortion and oppression by the people of the zemindárs; even the ryots were only too anxious to prey on each other whenever they found it convenient to do so. There was no law in the country, or rather no one to administer the law. The remembrance of the old troubles is now fast dying out, and men scarcely believe in these days in the extent of the misrule and anarchy which immediately followed the assumption of the government by the English.

This was the state of things till 1790. Intermediately, there were many good men noting upon what they saw, and attempting to work out many salutary reforms. It was Warren Hastings who insisted on the nawáb doing something for his pension; but the result was a wretched misrule, in which the chief actors were eunuchs and concubines. In 1772, a few provincial courts were constituted; and, in 1781, the number of these courts was increased, and the judges vested with the powers of a magistrate. But it was not till 1790, or the administration of the Marquess of Cornwallis, that any real reform was made. In that year the nawáb was expressly deprived of his authority, though his pension was left intact; the Calcutta Supreme Court was established, and also a Chief Criminal Court for all Bengal, with four Criminal Courts of Circuit. A regular police was started at the same time; and, by 1793, a methodical system of administration was introduced, which, with modifications and improvements, has been handed down to the present times.

We have not yet named the greatest of Lord Cornwallis's achievements, which was the permanent settlement of the land-revenue. Up to this time the zemindárs were only contractors for the collection of the rent due from the ryots. The English Government now conceived the idea of giving them such an interest in the soil as would induce them to improve it by reclaiming the jungles and swamps. With this view a settlement of the revenue was made with

them, first for ten years, and afterwards as a permanent arrangement, a proprietory right in the soil being conceded to them. This arrangement has been for a long time the bone of contention between those who have praised and those who have assailed it; but it is scarcely possible to deny that, on the whole, it has worked pretty fairly up to the present day. Of course it was a bargain for the zemindárs—it was meant to be so; but the rights of the ryots were not ignored. Since then the matter has been sifted every time that questions between zemindars and their ryots have arisen, and all the little grievances on either side have been removed or redressed by further legislation. It may be argued that, notwithstanding everything that has been done in his favour, the ryot's share in the produce of the soil amounts at this moment to no more than what is barely sufficient to support his existence. This is too true; but that is more or less the condition of the husbandman all over the world. The only telling argument against the settlement is, that it was concluded hastily, with men who did not represent the ancient gentry of the province, whom alone it was intended to benefit. This, doubtless, was the case; for the misrule of previous years had been so great that there was actually no old gentry in existence when the settlement was made, and all that the English Government could possibly do, was to create a new gentry with such materials as were at hand. After all, the concession to the zemindárs does not appear to have been anything so great as is generally supposed. It is only eighty-five years now since the settlement was made; within this short period almost all the families with which it was originally concluded have disappeared as insolvents, their properties having passed into other hands, while the few that remain are generally in evil plight. With some notable exceptions, it is the Government-security holder, and not the zemindár, who is the millionaire of the day!

It is scarcely necessary to trace the administrative changes in the order in which they were made. Improvements in all departments were effected year after year, as

soon as the Government began to understand its work and perceive its way through the difficulties by which it was surrounded. Of course the revenue continued to receive the greatest share of attention; it continues to do so to the present hour. The permanent settlement of the revenue left very little to be done in the way of augmenting it; but the little that was left has been since well worked up. All the tracts not included in the original settlement have now been settled, or resettled, with large increases of revenue; and the work is still going on in every nook and corner to which it can be extended. The recent resettlement of Assam, which is a Government estate, has doubled the revenue hitherto derived from it; some portions of the Midnápore district have been settled afresh with like success; Palámow, in the table-land of the Chotá Nágpore division, has been similarly dealt with at an advance of sixty per cent. on the former demand; and the Bootán Dooárs have been settled at more than double the revenue that the Booteáhs ever made out of them.

Besides increasing the revenue, the Government has been doing a great deal of other work also. In connection with the revenue settlements the whole of Bengal, Behár, and Orissá has been surveyed. This has been done for revenue purposes only, and in a somewhat perfunctory manner, so that no permanent boundary-marks of villages and properties have anywhere been laid down. But it is still a great thing that something has been done in a matter so important. The difficulty to be got over in respect to the determination of village boundaries lies in the cost it necessarily involves. The Government is unwilling to incur the expense, as the advantage to be derived from the measure will fall mainly to the share of the zemindár; but it is rather surprising that, having done so much already, the Government should hesitate to complete the work on such a plea.

Another great work undertaken in connection with the collection of revenue is the irrigation of parched districts. The irrigation-works in Bengal consist as yet only of (1)

the Orissá canals, and (2) the Soane canals. The first is subdivided into two parts—namely, one designed for the irrigation of the delta of the Mahánadi and the Bráhmini rivers in Orissá, and the other for the irrigation of the district of Midnápore, which is also to be connected with the tidal waters of the Hooghly. The works required for these purposes were commenced by a private company (the East India Irrigation Company) in 1864, from whom they were purchased by the Government. Those on the Soane were also originally projected by the same company. What the Government has done at either place up to this time is little indeed. As yet, the works do not promise to be very successful in a short time.

For a long series of years the Government had a salt-monopoly which has since been thrown up. The manufacture, as it was carried on by the Government, yielded a large revenue, but was not founded on the goodwill of the people engaged in it. The Government officials intrusted with the work contracted with persons called Molunghees for the engagement of people as salt-coolies. Large advances were made through these men, of which a small fraction only found its way to the ryots—just so much, in fact, as was necessary to force them to engage in the work, the condition implied being that they were to leave their homes and families and go to work at the salt-pans whenever they were required to do so. The advances were not taken willingly, often not taken at all; but the ryots had to work all the same, as complaints from them only lay to the salt-officers, who always sided with the Molunghees. Sometimes the officers intrusted with the judicial administration of the country attempted to interfere; but this only led to affrays between the two departments of the public service, and to the eventual triumph of the salt department, the loss of revenue being in those days more dreaded by the Government than any little failure of justice. An effort was made to regulate the system of impressment, and much honesty of purpose on the part of certain excellent administrators was brought to bear on the matter; but the evils

did not abate materially till the monopoly was given up. Some salt is still manufactured by the Government; but the manufacture is now open to everybody, and does not, therefore, admit of impressment. Altogether, very little salt is at present manufactured in the country, the whole supply required being met by the imports from Liverpool. The interest of the Government is now limited to the realization of a duty imposed at an equal rate on all salt sold, and it is a matter of little importance to it, so far as the revenue is concerned, whether the salt thus sold is imported or home-manufactured. A large revenue is derived from the duty levied on the imported salt, so that there has been no loss whatever by the abandonment of the manufacturing monopoly. The tax realized is on one of the necessaries of life, and may appear somewhat iniquitous on that ground; but the natives of all classes prefer it as it stands, and have themselves often proposed the abolition of all direct imposts with an increase of the salt-rate. Propose a direct tax of any kind, and they are sure to object to it; but, indirectly, they are willing to make up quite as much as the Government may require of them. An abstinence from direct taxation generally would, without doubt, give their conquerors the strongest hold on their faithfulness.

The English Government also kept up for a long time a number of cloth manufactories in Bengal, which were the foci of much oppression. The system of this manufacture, like that of salt, was based on advances made to the weavers, by which they were bound to give up their woven cloths to the factory. The story is the same: the advances were forced on the ryots, never accepted by them willingly; the full price of the articles taken was never paid; no complaints against the oppression of the factory servants were listened to—the officers of the commercial department, before whom such complaints had to be preferred, always siding with their own subordinates; and the Government of the day being unprepared to forego the profits realized, the cry of the oppressed never found a listening ear.

The contests about the cultivation of indigo are well

known; but these have been between the private speculator and the ryot. The oppressions at times were intolerable, and they have not ceased altogether yet. The subject has been often legislated upon, and oftener still specially inquired into; but the sympathy with the oppressed has not at all times been so great as it ought to have been. The dispute, before as now, was about the right to the plant. Not only did the planters claim what the ryots cultivated for themselves, but also what they cultivated for others. Here also advances were forced, seldom taken willingly, the whole object being to get a hold on the ryot, however slight—to insert the thin end of the wedge. The history of the affrays and oppressions connected with the cultivation would fill volumes. One little Bengali novel was written on the subject by a Bengali, for translating which the Rev. Mr. Long was imprisoned.

We have noticed the subject of pilgrimages in a previous chapter. The pilgrims were always many, and had to undergo great hardships on the road, the means of locomotion being very barbarous in those days, and the roads infested by dacoits and robbers. But what they complained of most was a pilgrim-tax, which, petty in itself, was, in its realization, attended with much violence and wrong. The Mahomedans made as much as they could of this tax, as a matter of course. Their first idea was altogether to abolish pilgrimages to sites held sacred by the Hindus; but the wiser heads among them devised the better plan of making the idolaters pay for the privilege they clamoured for. The English Government continued the tax. The benefit to the treasury was so inconsiderable, that it is a matter of surprise to us that an impost so iniquitous was retained so late as 1840. The subordinate officers intrusted with its realization, of course, feathered their own nests by levying their own rates; but, though this was well known, no attempts were ever made to check it.

The other sources of revenue from the commencement of the English rule have been opium and the intoxicating liquors. The revenue on the first is realized from the

Chinese nation, who consume the drug. The amount raised is very large (7,000,000*l.*) and could not be made up in any way without imposing a heavy burden on the natives of India. When we have said this, however, we have said all that can be urged in favour of the sale of opium, as it is still carried on. The justice of supplying a friendly nation with a poisonous drug is hardly defensible. If the Chinese had exported to England anything equally ruinous to the health and morals of the British nation, they would perhaps by this time have been blown out of home and country, and entombed under the depths of the Pacific Ocean. The gain to the finances of India is, however, too palpable to be gainsaid. The cultivation of the drug is a Government monopoly, and is carefully superintended by Government officers. It is carried on under contract with the Government, which, through its agents, obtains the quantity it requires for sale. The public at large are not allowed to cultivate direct, nor to appropriate any portion of what is prepared for the Government, except as purchasers, under precautions laid down by the law. The article is very little used by the people of Bengal; and the prohibition, therefore, is not a grievance.

The revenue derived from the intoxicating liquors amounts to about 750,000*l.* It admits of further development; and a vigorous government regrets that the policy of so developing it is cried down as unjustifiable by fault-finding missionaries and hypercritical natives. The fact of the increase of drunkenness in the land is not disputed. The Government is only anxious to explain that it is not responsible for the result, which is not attributable to the system in force; and that all its efforts have been directed to the prevention of drunkenness by the establishment of a monopoly. There is no question, however, that, provided the duties imposed by the Government are paid, there is no check whatever on the manufacture of spirits and liquors, which, when they are manufactured, are of course consumed. The Act which regulates the realization of the duties is, with great simplicity, called an Act for better

securing the Abkaree revenue. It certainly does secure the revenue well enough; but another Act, for better protecting the morals of a dependent people, seems to be as urgently called for. A Christian Government might also note that both opium and excise were small sources of revenue to the native Governments, whose duties were prohibitive, with a view to discourage consumption.

The total revenue of Bengal from all sources amounts, at this moment, to about 17,000,000*l.*,* while the total expenditure is about 5,000,000*l.*, leaving a splendid surplus of 12,000,000*l.* Omitting the revenue from opium, which is not derived from Bengal, and may at any time cease to be available, the surplus still stands at the magnificent sum of 5,000,000*l.*; so that the revenue of one year in Bengal is equal to the amount expended in it in two years. These figures, however, represent the results in one province of the Indian Empire only, the surplus in which has to make up for deficiencies elsewhere, and is thus rendered unavailable for improving the condition of the paying Presidency itself. To effect the improvements required in it, direct taxes are now being imposed, much to the dissatisfaction of the people. We particularly refer to the road-cess, the incidence of which on the ryot cannot but be oppressive; and it has come into operation just after the income-tax (another equally irritating and unnecessary imposition) has been given up as a failure.

We have dwelt at some length on revenue and taxes, because "Money, money," was at one time the watchword of the English rule in Bengal, though it has ceased to be so now. The administration of the police is, to the people at

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Derived from	Land-Revenue . . .	£4,000,000
„	„ Customs	1,100,000
„	„ Salt	2,580,000
„	„ Opium	7,000,000
„	„ Excise	750,000
„	„ all other sources . . .	1,570,000
		£17,000,000

least, a question of even greater importance. It was, we have mentioned, intrusted by the English at the outset to the zemindárs, who in a very short time showed that they were not equal to the trust. Notwithstanding this, the obligation of appointing, providing, and maintaining watchmen remained with them for a long time, and to a great extent remains with them to this moment. The police establishments now are of five kinds: (1) the regular district police, which includes the road and river patrols, the salt-preventive establishments, and the police employed in guarding the frontiers; (2) the municipal police, which is paid partly by the Government and partly by the municipality under which it is employed; (3) the railway police, especially entertained for putting a stop to malpractices on the railway; (4) the village police, appointed either by the zemindárs or the village community, and paid either in money or in kind, or by the assignment of lands held on condition of service; and (5) the detective police, a special establishment retained in the place of a dacoity department which existed before but has since been abolished. Of these, the fourth is the establishment distributed all over the country, and employed in keeping the peace, watching and apprehending criminals, and giving information; whilst the first is distributed in *thánnáh* circles, and only acts on receiving information. The popular opinion of the regular police is a very unfavourable one; and there is no doubt that with most cases of burglaries and robberies the members of this police especially are found in some way or other mixed up: but the obligations of the country to the police are nevertheless too great to be denied. The present crime statistics show that the number of offences, compared with the population, is not greater than in most other countries; but the tale in times past was very different. The offences most rife even now are dacoities on land and water, fables regarding the more extensive prevalence of which in earlier times were long current throughout the land; while the measures taken by the Legislature on different occasions to check them, prove incontestably that those stories were well-

founded. The country swarmed before with wandering gangs of burglars and robbers; we owe it to the police that these have been put down. General security of life, limb, and property has now been afforded to the people everywhere; and nothing has been so widely or gratefully appreciated as this.

The next thing to notice are the courts for the administration of justice—civil and criminal. The responsibility of administering civil justice was undertaken simultaneously with the fiscal administration of the country, in 1765; while that of administering criminal justice was taken up in 1790, when the nawáb of Moorshedábád was deprived of his powers. The first shifts and expedients of the Company to discharge these duties were exceedingly clumsy and inefficient, and necessarily unpopular; but, as they were from the commencement bent on performing the work honestly, the machinery to give effect to their wishes was elaborated in time, with no more mistakes and mischances than, under the circumstances of their position, were to have been expected. The judicial machinery was not perfected till 1831, or the time of Lord William Bentinck, with whom originated the bright idea of utilizing native agency in the work on a large scale. The idea was at once carried out in connection with the administration of civil justice, which at the present day rests almost entirely in the hands of native judges. The more extensive employment of natives in criminal work was of tardier growth, being determined upon in 1843, since which time all attempts at improvement have taken the same direction. The courts for the administration of civil justice now are—(1) the High Court, (2) the courts of district judges, (3) those of subordinate judges, (4) Moonsiffs' courts, and (5) small-cause courts. The courts for the administration of criminal justice are—(1) the High Court, (2) the courts of sessions, and (3) the magistrates' courts of different classes. The general progress in both branches of the administration has been such as to command the respect and secure the confidence of the entire nation.

In the earlier days of its sovereignty the Company had to wage perpetual war against adventurers and interlopers. No European in those days was allowed to land in Bengal without a pass from the Court of Directors in his pocket. This precaution was necessary at the time, as the parties who did come out never failed either to embarrass the Government with foreign states, or to oppress the people. But the adoption of a contrary policy afterwards—that is, as soon as the Government was out of leading-strings—had also its advantages. The English settler, taken by himself, has frequently been an evil of great magnitude to the ryot: but he has always carried with him roads, railways, and canals; and more moonsiffs and more magistrates were at once found necessary wherever the energy of the planter developed itself. In this way have the interlopers been of great service to the people.

What, then, has been the effect of English rule on the destinies of Bengal? What, briefly, are the benefits the people have derived from it? What are the benefits which it ought to have conferred, but has not? The answer to these questions may be summed up in very few words. The English rule has been an unmitigated blessing to the people, and this is fully acknowledged by them all. If the people are not positively happy, they are far happier than they ever were berfoe. Leaving aside the first few years of the Company's existence, when there was necessarily much misrule and confusion, the whole of the subsequent period, notwithstanding the distraction of struggles maintained for existence or waged for conquests and expansion, has been one of peace and rest to the people, or at least of freedom from external attacks and aggressions. No enemy from without has come and knocked at the gate for admission within. The Mahrattás had been troublesome for years in the west; their power was shattered, and they devastated the fields of Bengal no more. The piratic excursions of the Arracanese had been almost equally persistent and hurtful in the east; they were vigorously hunted down, and ceased to trouble. Revolts and internal rebellions had been constant in the

country throughout the Mahomedan reign; but there have been none since, with the sole exception of the great Mutiny of 1857, which did not affect Bengal, except in particular districts. The roads had been before infested with thugs and dacoits; the former were rooted out, and the latter put down. The times had been when neither life, nor property, nor honour were secure: but now the rich man finds no necessity for hiding his gold and silver under ground; the merchant is not afraid to convey his wealth and goods from one extremity of the country to the other unattended by an armed escort; the artisan does not conceal his skill from fear of impressment; the ryot does not curse the beauty of his wife, lest it should make her the victim of arbitrary power; the murderer of a governor-general, taken red-handed in the act, was lawfully tried and convicted before he was executed, nor did one voice dare to suggest that he should either be burnt, or trampled under an elephant, or quartered alive.

Then, again, a great many of the social evils of the country have been removed. First of all, the horrible practice of widow-burning has ceased. We hardly believe now, and our grandchildren will scout the idea, that there ever was a time when the living were actually burnt with the dead; and yet throughout the whole of the Mahomedan era this was tolerated by the sovereign power, to whom generally it was indifferent how the Hindus lived or died. Instances of personal interference are on record: but in such cases it was the beauty of the victim, not the horror of the crime, that suggested the rescue. A more recent law has sanctioned the re-marriage of widows; the traffic in slaves has been authoritatively abolished; and other little enactments have removed many minor evils, such as sitting *dhurná*, public gambling, and the like. In Sir Cecil Beadon's time, it was proposed to regulate the practice of taking sick people to the river-side to die, and to restrain the abuses attending the practice of polygamy; though nothing was then done, because the Government of India and the Secretary of State did not consider any

interference in those matters necessary, notwithstanding that the more advanced section of the native community sided with the local government, especially on the second question. A whole lot of other good laws have been given to the country, like the penal code, the civil and criminal procedure codes, the sale and rent laws, and the Acts regulating the police. The jails have been improved, to alleviate the miseries of imprisonment. Railways have been opened out, primarily for political purposes, but also for affording facilities to traffic and to the passenger public. Hospitals have been opened to extend the aid of European science in affording medical relief. Schools have been set up in all parts of the country for the education of the people. And, lastly, perfect freedom of thought and speech has been accorded to the governed, who never before could speak out their grievances freely, but now daily ventilate sentiments the expression of which under any Asiatic Government would have cost them their heads.

Of course a great deal more remains yet to be done; but we cannot say that any improvement which could have been effected has been purposely left unaccomplished. The years of peaceful administration have been few, and as much has been done within that brief period as the most sanguine had a right to expect; and there is no doubt that the good work so earnestly begun will be zealously continued, since every reasonable effort is being made at this moment to continue it.

The urgent requirements of the country now are: (1) the establishment of more cordial relations between the governors and the governed than have yet sprung up; (2) the further extension of native agency in the administration of the country, without any reservation of rights and appointments on behalf of Englishmen merely for the sake of their birth; (3) the rapid completion of the irrigation-works, so far as it may be possible to complete them without having recourse to borrowed capital; (4) a thorough fumigation of the public-works department, and the construction of good roads in every direction not accessible to

the railways; (5) the opening of many more hospitals and dispensaries than there are at present; and (6) the opening of more schools everywhere for both vernacular and English education. To this end, as Bengal leaves a surplus of 5,000,000*l.* annually in the hands of the Government, at least one half of that money ought, we think, to be expended for its improvement, the other half only going to the credit of the general profit-and-loss account of the empire. Justice must not be altogether sacrificed to expediency, as it is at this moment under existing arrangements.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

We have mentioned what the British Government has done for the welfare of the people of Bengal. We now come to notice what the people, with or without the assistance of the Government, must do for themselves. A foreign Government can never interfere successfully with the social evils dominant among a subject race. In this, the subject race must put their own shoulders to the wheel. The great prevailing evils of Bengal now are the social evils—such as polytheism, caste, polygamy, ghát-murders (*antarjali*), and a host of other bad habits and customs to which the doctoring hitherto has been very partial, and which cannot be thoroughly eradicated without a wider extension of a really sound education. The Government has done something to this end; the people in their way have done more. But it is the people that must proceed still further in the matter, as, without great efforts on their part, no exertion on the part of the Government is likely to be very successful.

The aptitude of the people to learn is great; and the glimpses we can obtain of the past show that from the remotest times they were educated, though within a limited degree. The education was general, but, as a rule, of a very inferior order, which accounts for the long existence of so many social evils in the country. Every village had a schoolmaster, perhaps more, who formed a constituent part of the community, just as much as the priest or the barber; but he taught nothing beyond letter-writing, arithmetic, and the songs relating to the gods. Only in certain places, the seats of learning, were there establishments for scholastic instruction; and these were accessible

solely to Bráhmans, among whom, accordingly, were confined all the greatest scholars of the olden times. All this, inadequate as the provision was, disappeared during the long periods of war and anarchy we have noticed; the village schools, the race of distinguished learned men, even the books which they read and taught, were lost together. The result was so deplorable, that only thirty years ago Bengal had no language worth speaking of; there were no books of any sort in the country beyond those of inane songs in praise of the gods, and of lewd stories related in the most indecent jargon.

The boards have now been rearranged; the people are most anxious to learn, and each village has again got its schoolmaster or schoolmasters, and the Bengali language has been recultivated—we may say reconstructed. All this the natives have done for themselves. The restoration of peace to the country soon brought them back to their old predilections, and of their own accord they have stepped out to reoccupy the old position from which they were forcibly ejected. This praise is exclusively their own. The Government has aided them since by the establishment of schools in every direction, but their number as yet is very inconsiderable. The wars between the Anglicists and the Vernacularists have contributed much to hamper the exertions of the Government; and recently the Government of Sir George Campbell* has itself assumed the character of a partisan. After a long-protracted contention, the two opposing parties found out, in Lord Auckland's time, that they did not really entertain any very divergent opinions: and it was then settled that, for the higher classes—namely, those who sought education for the enlargement of their minds—an English education was indispensable; but that for the lower classes, a good practical vernacular education was all that was desired. The question thus determined has

* This essay was written in the last year of Sir George Campbell's administration, and was first published in 1874.

been most unnecessarily reopened, and even the paltry trick of raising an objection to demolish it has been resorted to. No one ever seriously proposed to make the English language the *linguá francá* of the country; and yet much indignation has been exhausted in combating that Utopian idea.

The discussion reopened was, we have said, quite unnecessary. The masses ought most assuredly to be educated to the largest extent possible in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the mechanical sciences; the education grant of the Government is not yet so large as not to require further expansion; the obligation of the Government to educate the people is not a new theory in politics; the question of cutting down the expenditure under one head to assign the saving to another did not arise. What was wanted was an extensive enlargement of the educational grant, that the additional money might be appropriated to mass or vernacular education. If the education of the masses be imperatively necessary, equally necessary is the education of the higher classes in the loftier walks of literature and science, since it is only in the power of those higher classes to give that to the country which it is not in the power of the Government to confer. It does not become a man in Sir George Campbell's position, then, to sneer at those Bengalis who read Bacon and Milton, and possibly appreciate them as well as he does. Leaving out such venerated names from the controversy altogether (there being no reason why they should be unnecessarily profaned), we ask if it is not desirable that the natives should be able to understand the laws and edicts of the Government as they are passed, instead of having to depend on the emasculated version of the Government translator? Is it not necessary that they should read and understand what is going on in Europe? Is it not necessary to the very stability of the empire that the leading newspapers and periodicals of Great Britain should be as accessible to them as to their chief at Belvedere? We say emphatically, then, that the grant to higher education should not be curtailed. We assert with equal emphasis that the grant for lower education should

be increased. Village-schools for the masses; district-schools for the middle classes; colleges of science, jurisprudence, medicine, engineering, arts, and manufactures, for the higher classes,—all these are equally wanted: and this want is not to be tided over by mere minute-writing, but must be candidly and straightforwardly met by a larger contribution for education.

But the people must also do a great deal themselves—very much more than they have yet done, and considerably more than they have a right to expect from the Government. We do not accept the parrot-cry that they have done nothing. They have done a great deal already; but this is not a matter in which they can say—"We have done enough." What they have done as yet merely satisfies the first and most peremptory claims of the country upon them. But they can, and must, do more. If we remember aright, it was the natives who started the Hindu College, in 1817. The idea was that of an Englishman, of course—namely, of David Hare, a name to this day venerated by the Hindus of Calcuttá as that of one of their *griha-devatás*, or household gods. It was worked out also by Englishmen—by Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and other influential members of the public service. But the best portion of the funds for carrying out the idea came from the natives themselves. A few years after, in 1823, was established the Oriental Seminary, which has up to the present day retained an excellent reputation. It owed its origin to the energy of one private individual, and has throughout been unaided except by natives. The country wants ten, twenty, fifty schools like these; and it would be a crying shame if the natives are unable to establish them without the sustaining hand of the Government.

It is scarcely necessary in this place to name all the educational institutions which were established in Calcuttá at the outset. But some of the more prominent ones, as the pioneers of a nation's enlightenment, ought to be remembered. The first we have mentioned was the Hindu College, now called the Presidency College, for which the natives found the

money, but which was only sustained through its infancy by the untiring exertions of Mr. Hare. That worthy gentleman also established a private school of his own, called Hare's School, which still passes by his name, and has been affiliated to the Presidency College. The Oriental Seminary was established by Báboo Gour Mohun Auddy, and has given a judge to the High Court of Calcuttá. The General Assembly's Institution was established in 1830, by Dr. Duff, the well-known minister of the Free Church of Scotland, whose name is much respected by the people. The Sanskrit College, and the Madrassá or Mahomedan College, have both been throughout maintained at the expense of the Government. The Medical College was also founded by the Government; by Lord William Bentinck, in 1834. It was one of the last acts of that illustrious nobleman, and one of the most useful. Here the Hindu, whom the touch of a dead body ought, according to the Shástras, to defile, receives his lessons on anatomy in the dissecting-hall; and from the time of its first establishment to this day, it has sent out a large staff of cheap medical practitioners, who have proved of inestimable benefit to the poor. The only other institution that need be named is the Bishop's College —established by Dr. Middleton for the education of Christian youths in sacred and general knowledge—which is munificently endowed.

We now come down to present times. The latest educational statistics show the following results: So far as information has been collected, it is reported in the last Administration Report of the Government (for 1871-72) that there are 13,557 indigenous village-schools in Bengal supported entirely by the people; but the Government educational officers themselves admit that this total does not include a very large number of the smaller *pátsálas*, at each of which from four to eight boys are taught. By indigenous schools are meant all the contrivances originating with the people by means of which instruction in the elements of knowledge is communicated. Mr. Adam, in his education report, dated 1835, after a long and patient

inquiry, gave the then number of these institutions in Bengal Proper alone at about 100,000; and it cannot have lessened since, though possibly it has not much increased. The accurate number now, including the schools in Behár and Orissá, will probably be about 150,000. The Government figures are therefore simply misleading; they do not convey any correct idea of the efforts the people are making to educate themselves.

These indigenous primary schools are either *pátsátas*, which teach in Bengali, Hindi, Ooryáh, or Assamese; or they are *Muktabs*, or Mahomedan schools, where the Korán is read. The languages employed in the *pátsálas* are chiefly Bengali in Bengal and Assam—Assamese being used only in particular establishments in the latter province; Hindi in Behár; and Ooryáh in Orissa. Bengali was largely used in Orissá till recently; but under late orders of the Government, Ooryáh has become the medium of instruction, which change has also been adopted in most of the schools supported by the people. In Orissá, Behár, and Assam, the institutions are altogether few in number. Everywhere the schools for Hindu instruction are considerably greater in number than those for Mahomedan instruction; but the latter are usually of a more comprehensive character.

Apart from these primary schools, there is a description of higher schools called "Toles," in some of which are taught grammar, general literature, and rhetoric; in others, logic and philosophy; and in others, again, law,—all as they are contained in the old Sanskrit books, including the great mythological poems. These establishments are now few in number, and are mainly to be found in Nuddeá, Rájsháhye, and Tirhoot. In connection with them, Lord Minto proposed to establish Sanskrit colleges in Nuddeá and Tirhoot; but the idea was abandoned on a Sanskrit college being established in Calcuttá, though it would probably have been much better if the original intention had been carried out, as the demand for purely Sanskrit instruction has not proved to be very great in the metropolis. The students of the "Toles" prosecute their studies often up to their thirty-

fifth or fortieth year. They are supported either by the learned men who instruct them, or by the presents they receive on occasions of invitation to religious festivals and domestic celebrations, or out of funds especially assigned by rich people for the purpose, or by begging as religious mendicants when every other means proves inadequate. The tuition is almost exclusively confined to Bráhmans, the Káyasths and Vaidyas being only permitted to study such portions of Sanskrit literature as do not profess to be of divine origin.

There is no connection or dependence between the two descriptions of indigenous schools referred to. The primary schools are not preparatory to the "Toles;" nor do the "Toles" profess to complete what is begun in the primary schools. The one, in fact, is for children—the other for men; the one is for the trading, agricultural, and industrial classes generally—the other for the religious and learned classes. But they are both *bonâ fide* indigenous institutions, and owe nothing whatever to the Government. In the "Toles," after completion of education, titles are conferred by an assembly of *pundits*, indicating the branch of study in which the student has distinguished himself. The titles, as usual all over the East, are very high-sounding—as the "gem of logic," "the ocean of knowledge," and the like; but the recipients are generally distinguished by great humbleness and simplicity of character, and live a very poor life as compared with their really extensive acquirements. In this respect, at least, Young Bengal has a great deal to learn from them.

Now let us see what the Government educational establishments are. The number of primary schools paid for wholly or aided by the Government is 2451;* the number

* This was the number returned by the Administration Report of 1871-72. The Report for 1872-73 swelled up the figures to 8636, by the addition of a number of indigenous village-schools to which small monthly stipends had been intermediately given, and which, having been purposely kept in the background in the previous

of middle schools, 1462; and the number of higher and special schools (including colleges), 540: so that the total number of institutions wholly or partially supported by the Government is 4453. Of these 4453 schools, the total expenditure amounts to Rs. 31,87,059, of which the Government contributes Rs. 18,14,037, or a little above a moiety of the charge—the smaller moiety being, in some shape or other, paid by the people. The cost of the schools wholly paid for by the people is not shown in the statistics available, nor any mention made of the large amount expended in domestic instruction. We are not able to supply the desideratum; but it is sufficiently clear, from the facts stated, that it is simply absurd to maintain, what has been asserted over and over, that the Government pays more than the people for their education.

In Calcutta, the Government higher schools are all of them entirely self-supporting—that is, the fees paid by the students more than cover the current expenses incurred. The private higher schools in the city also support themselves; so that no Government aid is given to higher schools of any kind in the metropolis. That aid is restricted to the interior of the country, where, for obvious reasons, the progress of enlightenment has been tardy, which in itself would seem to indicate that the aid of the Government there was all the more needed; but the Government thinks otherwise, and the grants hitherto made have therefore been "revised"—*i.e.*, reduced. The clipping-scissors have also been applied to some of the colleges which were considered to be more than usually expensive, with a view to provide funds for primary education. This has provoked the charge that the administrators of the present day are afraid of

year, were prominently brought forward afterwards as a part of Sir George Campbell's achievements. In p. 45 of the Administration Report for the last-mentioned year, Sir George Campbell actually paraded this claptrap as a success beyond all expectation. But the stipend given was not required, and led in many cases to a cessation of the payments previously made by the people, which cannot but be accepted as a very unsatisfactory result.

natives who talk English and oppose the crotchets of their rulers with arguments, who actually go to England to complete their education, and who threaten to swamp both the Civil Service and the Bar. The charge, however, has no real foundation. The present head of the local government is crotchety, but not illiberal; the view taken by him is wrong, but not dishonest. One thing is certain, that even if he were really inimical to them, the natives would continue to learn English, go to England, and overwhelm the Civil Service and the Bar in spite of any and every opposition that he or his evil advisers could set up. The impetus has been given, and cannot now be recalled.*

The education of the Mahomedan community has for years been very backward. It is therefore a matter of relief to us that it is now receiving the particular attention of the Government. The Mahomedans hate to send their children to the English schools, for reasons which the following anecdote, told by a Government educational officer, very naïvely explains: A well-to-do Mahomedan sent one of his sons to a Government school; the boy did well, and the father was urged to send his second son also to the school. To this he demurred, saying that it was enough to make an infidel of one of them; there was no reason why they should both go to the bad. This is the feeling of every Mahomedan in the country, be he of high or low degree. The teaching of the giaour upsets all the beliefs cherished by the faithful, which is of course also the case as regards the Hindu. The Hindu can tolerate this, but the Mahomedan cannot; and he will not willingly come forward to learn for all the piping that it is in the power of the Government to administer. Notwithstanding this, a good strenuous effort to bring round the Mahomedans

* Since the above was written the admission into the Civil Service has been very cleverly impeded by the age-limit having been reduced from twenty-two to nineteen years, which virtually excludes the natives from competition, it being impossible for them to reach England prepared for it within their nineteenth year.

should be made: it is necessary on political, if not on higher grounds, the best way, the only way, to make the Mahomedans loyal being to educate them—that is, if you can.

The study of Sanskrit, which received much encouragement from the English Government at the outset, has since fallen into great disfavour. It must be said that the people themselves have ceased to be partial to their classics—so much so, that for a long time it has been found impossible to keep together a Sanskrit college in Calcuttá without giving the students the benefit of an English course as well. But even this should not have evoked a crusade against the study of Sanskrit everywhere. The teaching of it has now been authoritatively restricted in all but the highest schools, so that it has been virtually tabooed. We trust that the old "Toles" will still send out good scholars from time to time, if only to put to shame the Vandalism that is endeavouring so persistently to shut up for ever the riches of ancient lore.

But we must not be altogether disloyal to Sir George Campbell's Government. A move in the right direction has been made by the introduction of gymnastic exercises in connection with some of the principal colleges and schools. The Bengalis are a nation of dyspeptics, and something was urgently needed to give them active habits. A riding-school has also been established. This is all right; but will the Government be liberal enough to go a step further and establish a military academy? Possibly the Bengalis will never make soldiers of any sort—good, bad, or indifferent; but an enlightened Government should give them every facility to prove their usefulness. No one need fear much disloyalty from them; they may talk treason, but are too shrewd to act it. At all events, the Government should not rest content with having made them parrots only, if it can make them men.

As practical education is now the rage, we would here prominently draw attention to a letter written by us some eighteen years ago, and published in the *Hindu*

Patriot, a weekly newspaper of Calcutta. We reprint nearly the whole of it, that the suggestions contained in it may be clearly understood. It was addressed to the British Indian Association, which, however, does not appear to have ever attempted to take any action on it:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Not being a member of your Association, I take the liberty of addressing you through the columns of the *Patriot*.

"You are no doubt aware that Mr. Hodgson Pratt has published a book entitled *University Education in England for the Natives of India*. In that work he has proposed the adoption of measures for conveying to England a small number of young natives (four or five at the outset) every year, for the purpose of giving them a university education.

"Mr. Pratt's scheme contemplates, by giving these youths a higher standard of education, to introduce gradually a higher standard of life in India, and so secure a body of qualified men for the Civil Service. The project is a good one; but it appears to me that it only goes half-way, or even less, in the right direction.

"I have long had in mind another, which I think is better calculated to raise my countrymen in the scale of nations; and I take this opportunity to solicit your consideration of the subject, in the hope that, if you approve of my plan, you may find means to carry it out.

"I am not going to write an essay, and shall therefore simply note down the main points, to show what I think should, and how it might, be done. The native community—assisted by such Europeans as may choose to join them—might, it appears to me, raise a fund sufficient perpetually to maintain one hundred native youths, whom I would propose to distribute all over England, France, and Germany, for the purpose of learning all that is really useful, and likely to be most beneficial to their country. A university education is a very good thing; but in our present circumstances it is not *the* thing we absolutely require. We can do without good literary men for some

time to come: and it appears to me that we can afford still longer to be without barristers and doctors educated on the English model. To be great as a nation we require, first, a knowledge of the manufactures and arts of England, of her steam-boats, railroads, and electric telegraphs. Our young men must learn to cast guns and manufacture gunpowder, to make Norton shells, build ships—plain and iron-plated—manufacture cutlery, convert our flax into linen, without having to send it out of the country; and, in fact, everything else on which we see that the greatness of other nations is based. They may become good scholars in addition if they choose, but that is of less than secondary importance; and besides, something in that way can be, and has been, achieved in the country itself.

"If my plan can be carried out, we may, under the blessing of Providence, hope some future day to be prepared for self-government—that is, for that occasion which has long been talked of, and may yet come, when the English people shall, with a greatness of which they alone are capable, gracefully and smilingly relinquish their dominion in the East. Now, if they desert us, are we not perfectly helpless?

"Mr. Pratt estimates the expense of living in England at 200*l.* a year per man. Living in the other European countries will probably be cheaper; but, calculating the whole expenditure at one uniform rate, we shall have to provide a fund yielding 20,000*l.* a year. Is it hopeless to think of raising a subscription of say forty lakhs of rupees for the object I have explained? This is the point which I submit for your earnest consideration."

Some of the above suggestions still appear to us to be pertinent and worthy of adoption; and we believe further, that they can be now adopted with greater ease than when they were first proposed. A large fund for maintaining a number of scholars in Europe may seem to many to be unnecessary, and such a fund could not certainly be easily raised in Bengal. But many Bengalis now visit England at their own cost; and they may be induced to submit

to special training of the sort indicated, by the payment of some stipulated scholarship or bonus. Nor is it, perhaps, very necessary that so many as one hundred youths should be perpetually maintained in the way mentioned. There is apparently no great hurry in realizing the fruits of the experiment, as England is not likely to give up India immediately, for all that Russia or any other power may have to say to her; and half the number of learners, or even a fourth, would probably be quite enough to commence with. We have always wondered why the Bengalis repair to England only to pass the Civil Service examination, or to get enrolled as barristers. There is a much better future open for those who will master England's manufactures and arts, and then set up their own manufactories in their native country. Casting guns or building ironclads may not be the necessary acquirements for the hour, and cannot therefore be immediately remunerative. But there is no reason why the youths of Bengal should not be able to manufacture clothes out of their own silk, cotton, flax, and jute,—make their own knives and razors, their own writing-paper, and their own glassware and crockery.

We now proceed to notice what the progress of education in Bengal now consists in. It is represented, first, by the number of Masters of Art and Bachelors of Art turned out by the Calcuttá University. There are already nearly one hundred and fifty of the former, and some seven hundred of the latter—not, perhaps, a very large number, taken in the abstract, but nevertheless promising, with its annual increases, to become very embarrassing in a short time, considering that all these degree-holders are, for want of other useful occupation, constantly scrambling for official employment. If their energies could be diverted in the way we have mentioned, they would become real blessings to their country; but the prospect at present is not very hopeful.

The important special colleges in operation are those for teaching law, medicine, and civil-engineering, and the

school of arts. The first has passed about four hundred bachelors of law; but for the higher degrees there have as yet been no candidates. Nor does the country want any. The law market is glutted already; the cry everywhere is—"Hold! no more." The medical college has passed four doctors of medicine and about thirty bachelors of first and second degree, besides a very large number of assistant-surgeons and native-doctors, who are quietly displacing the indigenous medical practitioners, who know nothing whatever of medicine as a science, and possess an exceedingly inconsiderable share of general knowledge. This institution has enabled the Government to prohibit inoculation with the cow-pox officially, and to extend vaccination in every direction. It has also given a new class of midwives, trained in its wards, to take the place of those who had hitherto followed the profession without knowing anything whatever about it; and it has made the native-doctor so rampant that, even in the remotest corners of the country, conjurers and charmers are losing their practice. The civil-engineering college is an institution of comparatively recent date, and has as yet produced only one bachelor and about fifty licentiates. The profession, just at this moment, is more lucrative than either law or medicine, owing to the public-works department being able to find employment for all passed students at once; but the work of that department is not much coveted by natives of intelligence and honesty, the young men of the present generation being, as a rule, averse to come in contact with old sinners, to be made their scapegoats. The school of arts promises to be very useful, but requires further time to develop itself.

The progress of female education in Bengal has been very inconsiderable. The Government and aided female schools are two hundred and ninety-four in number, and all of these are in the central and western districts of Bengal Proper and in Calcuttá. There are forty-seven other private female schools, distributed all over the country, which receive no pecuniary aid from the Government. In the interior of the country, the old superstitious notion that a

girl taught to read and write soon becomes a widow has still great force. This is the objection urged by the Hindu; that urged by the Mahomedan is, that a knowledge of letters gives greater facilities to intrigues and corruption. Neither of these objections has any force in the more important towns and cities; but there, again, the people greatly prefer a home to out-door education for their wives and daughters. The consequence is, that the public-school system has been unsuccessful everywhere; while a scheme of house and zenana teaching is being worked out with considerable success in Calcuttá, under the auspices, not of the Government, but of the energetic American mission. Outside the metropolitan towns, one paramount difficulty to combat with is the poverty of the people, which prevents them from allowing any portion of the time of their women being devoted to aught but domestic duties.

The progress of education in the country is more fairly represented by political and literary societies, like the Bengal British Indian Association, the Social Science Association, and the Bethune Society. We name a few only out of many such associations in Calcuttá; and there are a good many others also in the interior of the country —in all about sixty—all working, each according to its light, for the general welfare of their native land. It is in these societies and associations that the Bengali learns to talk treason; but that is an evil which the English Government can well afford to tolerate.

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THE

GREAT WARS OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

We do not intend to write a history of India, but only to give a brief and continuous account of the great wars which have been waged in it. These necessarily mark the turning-points of history, namely, the rise and fall of states, races, and dynasties; but the seasons of peace and plenty—the angel-visits in the records of time which it would be incumbent on the general historian especially to dwell upon—will not be noticed by us. We shall not even notice all the wars which have disturbed the country, but those only which were either great in themselves or great in the revolutions they effected. The valleys of the Indus and the Ganges have rung with victories as memorable, and have been saddened by defeats as signal as any that have occurred on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube, and a remembrance of these at the present moment, when we are constantly threatened with European and Central Asian difficulties, will perhaps not be held to be altogether unnecessary.

The history of India naturally divides itself into three parts, namely, the Hindu, the Mahomedan, and the English periods. The first is of course by far the most important; but the accounts extant of it are unfortunately exceedingly imperfect, as the Hindus never had any historical writings. To leave out all notice of the period, however, would be a great mistake; nor is such complete omission imperative,

since the labours of our orientalists and antiquarians have succeeded in scraping together a large amount of information about it which, if not historically true, is still not unworthy of belief. All such information as can be applied to our present purpose will be freely utilized.

Leaving aside the travelling expedition of Osiris from Egypt, the first great war waged in India of which we know anything was that which was fought between Semiramis and Stabrobates, which must have occurred in the second or third century after the flood. The next was the expedition of Bacchus, Sesostris, or Parusrám, which, according to the Hindu accounts, was a war of races fought between the Bráhmans and the Kshetriyas. The third, in the order of time, was the war of the second Ráma, or Rámchandra of Ayodhya, with Rávana in Southern India, which was a war of religions, being apparently the first great war between Bráhmanism and Buddhism, the Buddhists being represented as Rákshases. The fourth was probably the invasion of Oghuz Khán of Tartary, whose era, however, cannot be precisely determined. The fifth was the invasion of Hercules, or Balarám (the third Ráma) and Krishna, which was almost contemporaneous with the sixth, the war of the *Mahábhárut*, an international war, fought out apparently by two Scythic clans a short time after their settlement in the country. Then, after a long interval, come the Persian invasions of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes; and then the invasion of Alexander the Great, which was the first of the great wars of which we have authentic information. The wars of Vikramáditya and Saliváhana, which ought next to be noticed, are not much known in their details. They were followed by six centuries of impervious darkness which it is impossible even to grope through.

The second, or Mahomedan, period of Indian history opens with the Arab invasions of the country, which were followed by the expeditions of Subaktágin, Máhmood of Ghazni, and Mahomed or Sháhábudeen of Ghor, by the last of whom and his slave, Kuttubudeen Ibek, the

sovereignty of the Mahomedans in India was founded. From this date to the end of the Mahomedan era the country was always in a state of anarchy and confusion, caused alike by mutinies and rebellions, and by wars of conquest and aggrandizement, both of which were equally frequent. The Mahomedans, as Abdool Wássaf expresses it, found India to be "the most agreeable abode on the earth, and the most pleasant quarter of the world; the dust of which was purer than air, and the air purer than purity itself. Its delightful plains were regarded by them as the garden of paradise, and the particles of its earth as rubies and corals. If it is asserted," says he, "that paradise is in India, be not surprised that paradise itself is not comparable to it." The eagerness to plunder this paradise was generally the cause of the wars that distracted it; and very soon the paradise was converted by its desecrators into a hell, both for themselves and the unfortunate races they brought under subjection. All the disturbances thus created will not require to be recapitulated, as they were generally not "great" wars, in any sense of that term. We shall only refer to the wars of Buktyár Khiliji in Bengal and Behár; those of Altamsh, the slave; those of Alláudeen, the first Mahomedan subjugator of all India; the Chinese expedition of Mahomed Toglek; the terrible invasion of India by Timour, which left an indelible mark on the country; its conquest by Báber; the wars of Humáyun and Shere Sháh; those of Akbar; the rebellion of Sháh Jehán; that of Khán Jehán Lodi; and the civil wars caused by the sons of Sháh Jehán, which were terminated by Aurungzebe's ascension to the throne. After these will come for notice the wars of Aurungzebe with the Rájpoots and the Mahrattás, the subsequent Mahrattá wars, the war of Báhádur Sháh with the Sikhs, the invasion of Nádir Sháh, and the several invasions of Áhmed Sháh Dooráni which ended with his final triumph at Pániput.

The battle of Pániput was fought in 1761, four years after which began the recognised sovereignty of the English in India. We wish we could say that the English

period has been altogether a quiet and peaceful one. It has unfortunately not been, and in fact could not be so, since the empire of the English is based on conquest, just as much as that of the Mahomedans was. Unlike the Mahomedan period, however, the English era has been singularly free from internal disturbances, excepting such as were unavoidable to the tenure upon which it is based; and now that the masters of the country have attained the *ne plus ultra* of their aspirations in it, the whole of it is at peace from one extremity to another quite as much as Great Britain and Ireland. The wars they have fought will of course have to be referred to. They commenced with their struggles with the French for a footing in the land, which were soon followed by the wars for the acquisition of Bengal and Behár. Then succeeded the wars with Hyder Áli and Tippoo, which may be regarded as the sequel of the struggles with the French; then the first Mahrattá war; then the war with Nepál; then the great Mahrattá and Pindári war; and then the Burmese war. Next followed the capture of Bhurtpore and the subjugation of the Játs; after which there was a long era of rest, that was abruptly concluded by the fear the English entertained of the Russians, which provoked the Afghán war, which in a manner obliged them to undertake in succession the conquest of Scinde, the Gwálior war, and the Punjáb war. The last of their great wars in India up to this time has been the Sepoy war of 1857-58.

Of most of these wars detailed accounts exist, but in such voluminous form as is repellent to a large number of readers. Our only endeavour will be to produce a book that will give the general reader such a cursory sketch of them as he will care to read and remember. The wars with China and Persia will not be referred to, as they were, in point of fact, not Indian but imperial wars.

CHAPTER II.

THE INVASION OF SEMIRAMIS.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 2000.

THE first celebrated invader of India was Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, who succeeded him on the Assyrian throne, some two or three hundred years after the flood. The account of this invasion is given by Diodorus Siculus after Ctesias, whom the fathers reject as an unscrupulous authority because his narrations are not altogether reconcileable with the Jewish Scriptures. There is no doubt, however, that there was such a queen as Semiramis, or Samáraymat, as she is named in the Assyrian inscriptions, and that she did signalize herself by many wonderful achievements, of which not the least was the erection of Babylon; and *primâ facie* there is nothing against Ctesias's account of the Indian war, which, Diodorus says, was extracted from the archives of Babylon, and the general truth of which is not unsupported by the mythic annals of India.

The account of Ctesias is that the queen of Assyria, having added Libya and Ethiopia to her dominions, retired for rest to Bactria, but soon became so impatient of a quiet life that she resolved to proceed thence to India, which even in that age had acquired a name for fertility and riches. The king of the Indians, Stabrobates, was, however, on all hands said to be a very powerful sovereign, and the undertaking contemplated was also difficult for other reasons. Preparations for it were therefore made by Semiramis on the grandest scale. The bravest and most expert soldiers in her empire were selected for the enterprise; and the army thus formed was strongly armed and accoutred. She also engaged shipwrights from all maritime places to

build for her a number of vessels to be transported in pieces by land and made use of in crossing the Indus; and to deceive the elephant-corps of the Indian king, in which his chief superiority was supposed to rest, she had counterfeit elephants constructed of wood, which were covered with the hides of black oxen. Her elephants and vessels being ready in two years she assembled her army in the third, and counted three millions of foot soldiers, two hundred-thousand horsemen, one hundred-thousand chariots, and one hundred-thousand men on camels. Her vessels of transport were two thousand in number, and were carried by camels; as also were her mock-elephants, to the sight of which the horsemen familiarized their horses, that they might not take fright on seeing real elephants in the war.

Stabrobates, undaunted by these preparations, made his own for resistance with equal vigour, and succeeded in organizing a superior army. His foot-soldiers exceeded three millions, and the other arms were proportionately strong. He especially added largely to the elephant-corps, and armed it so as to render it invincible; and, for purposes of transport, he built four thousand boats of canes and bamboos.

Thus prepared the Indian king sent ambassadors to Semiramis on her march to reproach her for seeking a causeless war; and, in a private note to her, he upbraided her for her infamous life, and threatened to crucify her if she fell into his hands. The only answer Semiramis gave was that she hoped that they would ere long be better acquainted with each other; and, hurrying her advance, she came shortly after to the banks of the Indus, but was surprised to find the enemy's fleet already arranged and drawn up in order before her. Nothing daunted she launched the vessels she had prepared, manned them with the boldest of her soldiers and commenced the fight, ordering it so that those on shore might be able to aid and assist those fighting on the river. The contest was fierce and obstinate, but terminated in favour of the Assyrians,

who sunk one thousand of the Indian vessels and took many prisoners.

But the king of India was a strategist. He had accepted the defeat designedly, that the enemy might get elated and less wary with success; and, affecting to retire before it, he drew the entire army of the Assyrians across the river. Semiramis, easily taken in, ordered a bridge of boats to be stretched across the stream, and went over with all her forces, leaving only sixty thousand men behind to defend the bridge; and she proceeded joyously, pursuing the Indians and desolating the country for many leagues. Her mock-elephants did her especial service, for they actually succeeded in intimidating several detachments of the Indian army, till the deceit was discovered by deserters. Even then Stabrobates found the greatest difficulty in rallying his forces; but he eventually succeeded in doing so, and then charged the Assyrians with such vigour that they were obliged to give way. The attack of his elephant-corps was now irresistible, while the mock-elephants of Semiramis proved useless and cumbersome. The sovereigns on both sides fought hand to hand, and Semiramis was wounded with an arrow and a javelin. This compelled her to fall back; and her army, already disspirited, fled with her in disorder. Many of the Assyrians, after having escaped the enemy, were, in the precipitancy of their flight, pressed to death on the bridge, or being thrown into the stream were drowned. But Semiramis took a bitter revenge for this when she saw the Indians continuing the pursuit across the river, by ordering the bridge to be cut down the moment her own men had passed over, whereby a multitude of Indians were destroyed.

Such was the end of the last great expedition undertaken by the most famous queen of the olden world, who is by some authorities said to have made her escape from India with only twenty persons in her train, while others assert that she was able to save about a third part of her army. The Indian account identifies her with the goddess Shámá, the wife of Mahádeva, the god himself being, in a separate

story, identified with Osiris of Egypt, which gives force to the belief expressed by some authors that Semiramis, after the death of Ninus, was married to Osiris. Her Indian opponent is named Virasena, a devout worshipper of Mahádeva, by whom he was made *Sthábarpati* (Stabrobates) or lord of hills, trees, and plains. His country was near the sea, evidently down to the mouths of the Indus; and he began his reign by repressing the wicked and rewarding the good. Shámá Devi, amazed at the final issue of her expedition, made minute inquiries in regard to the life of the conqueror; and, finding that he had become a son of Mahádeva by his *tapsaya* and austerities, she adopted him as her son also, and gave him command over all Váhnisthán, the empire she had herself reigned over. It is not unlikely that this invasion of India was the last of the continuous wars fought between the Áhoors (Asoors or Assyrians) and the Devas, or Brahmans, from time anterior to the flood. It was after this engagement that the Brahmans, already settled in *Sapta Sindhava*, or the land of the seven rivers, began to codify their faith.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPEDITION OF BACCHUS, SESOSTRIS, OR PARUSRÁM.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1800.

NONNUS, a native of Panopolis, in Egypt, composed in the fifth century after Christ, a poem called the Dionysiacs, which gives an account of the expedition of Dionysus, or Bacchus, into India. Some authors consider Osiris to have been the original Bacchus; others concede that honour to Sesostris; others again to Shishak: while not a few agree in thinking that there was actually but one invasion of India from Egypt, the name of the invader being differently given by different writers as Dionysus, Bacchus, Shishak, and Sesostris.

Nonnus says that the expedition of Bacchus was undertaken at the desire of Jupiter, who was angry with Deriades, the king of India, for his haughtiness. The invading army was assembled by Pyrrhichus, and was commanded by Actæon, Hymenæus, Erectheus, Aristæus, Ogyrus, and Priapus. A long catalogue of nations and towns which contributed to swell its ranks is given by the poet. Briefly, the races were the Cabiri, Corybantes, Telchinis, Cyclops, Pans, Satyrs, Hyades, Centaurs, Nymphs, and Bassarides. Armed with a thyrsus and a horn Bacchus led them on, being accompanied, not only by the heroes named, but also by Apollo, to give lessons in poetry and music to the Indians, Triptolemus, to teach them the arts of husbandry, Maro, to instruct them in planting the vine, and the Muses, to teach them the rest of the sciences and arts. The invaders entered India by the road of Persia, but were not entirely unopposed on the frontier. An immense multitude, armed with such weapons as they

could lay hands on, flocked from all the neighbouring districts to repel them; but the Bassarides, or Bacchæ, fell furiously on these, and Bacchus seconded their efforts by turning a river that was running blood into wine, of which the Indians drank unwittingly, and, becoming mad drunk, were easily conquered.

At this stage the account of the war is relieved by the story of Bacchus's passion for an Indian nymph named Nicæa, as beautiful as Venus and as chaste as Diana. Bacchus's love being rejected by her with disdain, he followed her wherever she went; upon which she tried to run away, and, coming up to the river of wine in an exhausted state, drank deeply of it and became insensible, which gave Bacchus the opportunity to complete her ruin.

The trick of the river of wine being discovered, Orontes, the son-in-law of Deriades, challenged Bacchus to a single combat, which Bacchus avoided. A general engagement was then commenced, and Orontes attempted to attack Bacchus, but was unable to wound him; while Bacchus with his thyrsus rent the corslet of Orontes, but magnanimously spared his life. Orontes, unable to endure the indignity, destroyed himself; and, the best warrior of the Indian army being thus lost, a second victory was obtained by Bacchus, after which Blemys, an Indian who had joined him, was placed on the throne.

The next encounter was a friendly one, with one Staphylus, apparently one of the frontier princes, who, with his wife Methé and his son Botrys, learned to appreciate the grape so well that he died from the effects of it, whereupon Bacchus undertook to console his widow, and Methé became his constant companion. After this followed a fierce encounter with Lycurgus, the king of Arabia, who gave Bacchus a signal defeat; but Neptune and Jupiter coming to his rescue, the former struck Arabia with his trident and laid it under water, while the latter made Lycurgus blind.

Up to this time there had been no engagement with Deriades himself. One of his generals, Thureus, a fierce

warrior, now met Bacchus on the banks of the Hydaspes, and meditated an attack on him. But a deserter informed Bacchus of the plan, and he, feigning flight, drew the enemy after him, and then defeated and routed them, driving many of the Indians into the river, where the contest was continued in the water till all except Thureus were drowned. Bacchus then crossed the river, and meeting with opposition set fire to it. This angered Oceanus; but the Hydaspes itself implored clemency, upon which the flames were extinguished.

The preparations for the battle with Deriades were now completed. Bacchus received a shield made by Vulcan on which were displayed the figures of the sun, moon, and stars; of Thebes, Amphion, and Ganymedes; of Damasenus engaging and slaying a dragon; and of Rhea holding a stone to Saturn. His opponents were at the same time craftily encouraged by Pallas to venture out; and they advanced vigorously, bearing various arms. In the battle which followed Dexiochus and Corymbasus, two Indian chiefs, particularly distinguished themselves, the latter standing at his post even after he was killed. But the advance of the Cyclops soon reduced the troops of Deriades to straits, many fell back before them, and Deriades himself was surrounded; when Juno inspired him with courage, upon which Deriades and Bacchus engaged in single conflict, till they were parted by night. Juno now deceived Jupiter with the girdle of Venus, and lulled him asleep; and Deriades, being assisted by Mars, soon put Bacchus and his host to flight, upon which Bacchus became demented.

Jupiter was filled with wrath when he awoke, and compelled Juno to cure Bacchus with her milk; after which the war was renewed, Bacchus charging the elephant-corps of the Indian army at the head of the wild beasts that accompanied him. He himself also assumed a great variety of forms to engage Deriades, and finally succeeded in entangling him in a mess of vine-plants, which forced him to entreat for liberation, and to conclude a truce.

Numerous prodigies appeared at the termination of the

truce, but they deterred neither party from continuing the war, which now took a naval form; and the ships of Bacchus and Deriades being both ready, a vigorous engagement was begun. The Indians were early surrounded, but still fought with obstinate valour, till Boreas sent a storm against them and Jupiter sent rain, when the Indians being subdued their fleet was burnt. Deriades now attempted to fly, but was deceitfully persuaded by Pallas to continue the fight, which enabled Bacchus to come up to him and slay him; after which Bacchus returned to his native country.

The account given of Sesostris by Diodorus Siculus does not very materially differ from the above, though no details to an equal extent are furnished. His first expedition, it is there related, was in command of an army sent out by his father to conquer Arabia, in which he was entirely successful. He was next sent to conquer Libya, which was likewise brought under subjection. These achievements excited in him the ambition to conquer the world; and, on coming to the throne, he raised for that purpose a large army of six hundred-thousand foot-soldiers, twenty-four thousand horsemen, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war. The chosen companions of his infancy were the generals who commanded this army; and he fitted out a fleet from the Red Sea to co-operate with it. The latter being first sent out succeeded in conquering all the maritime nations to the borders of India. The army then took its course through Phœnicia, Syria, Assyria, and Media, all of which were conquered; after which it entered India through Persia, and subduing the whole of it, passed down the Ganges to its mouths, where the fleet was waiting for it, and where triumphant pillars were erected. Nine years were spent in the expedition, after the successful termination of which Sesostris proceeded westward into Europe, where he subjugated Thrace. We have no information of the kings he encountered in India. In another account Shishak, or Sesonchosis, is said to have conquered a large part of India, and to have left one of his most intimate friends, Spartembas, on the throne, whose descendants continued to occupy

it till the invasion of the country by Hercules. The story, whichever version of it be accepted, is not improbable; there is no doubt that the Egyptian empire was at one time contiguous to India. The approximate date of the expedition has been set down at the head of this chapter as B.C. 1800, but the era of Sesostris is more commonly fixed at somewhere between B.C. 1500 and 1300, and that of Shishak at between 1000 and 900.

We now turn to the Indian accounts available to us. Colonel Wilford was of opinion that the Dionysiacs of Nonnus only related the story of the *Mahábhárut*, while Sir William Jones held that the parallel to it was to be found in the *Rámáyana*. In point of fact, however, we find no actual parallel of the story in either of the poems referred to, beyond a possible affinity of names between Deriades and Duryodhon, as regards the *Mahábhárut*, and such resemblance as may be said to subsist between the circumstances of Bacchus having fought with an army of satyrs and Ráma with an army of monkeys, as regards the *Rámáyana*. The more probable theory, therefore, is that which has been generally accepted, that the expedition of Bacchus, Sesostris, or Shishak has reference to a distinct war from that either of the *Rámáyana* or the *Mahábhárut*, the hero of it being the elder Ráma, or Parusrám, so named from the *Parusa*, or battle-axe, with which he fought. It will be remembered that the Egyptian name of Sesostris was Rámeses the Great.

Parusrám, according to the Hindu story, was an incarnation of the Deity, one of whose names is Bagis, which may be identified with Bacchus. He was the son of Jamadagni, an anchorite, who, quarrelling with Gautama, was beset by a confederation of princes both of India and Cushwadwipa (Persia and Arabia), and was murdered. Parusrám, then a boy, had already found favour with Mahádéva, and, armed with his invincible energy, devoted himself to the extermination of the Kshetriyas, or the royal race, all over India. In vain they resisted him singly or together; all arms were useless against his battle-axe;

and the slaughter he made was so great that even the *chásás*, or agriculturists, fled from the plains and retreated to the mountains. The *Sántiparba* of the *Mahábhárut* says that "he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud." Eastwards he proceeded to the extremest limit of Assam, where with one blow of his axe he made the cleft in the mountains—still called *Prabhu Kuthár* by the Assamese—by which the Brahmapootra enters India. To the west he went beyond the Hindu Koosh, to the country of the Cannibals, where he fought with their ruler Kartávirya, and, darting huge serpents at him, enfolded him in an inextricable maze till he was destroyed. The names given by Nonnus are not reconcileable with those of the Hindu legend, but some resemblance in the stories may be traced. The Egyptians who accompanied Bacchus, Sesostris, or Shishak to India—a great portion of whom must have settled in it under Spartembas—were perhaps also Bráhmans, like those already settled in the Punjáb, whose cause was fought for by Parusrám.

CHAPTER IV.

RÁMA'S WAR WITH RÁVANA.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1700.

THE first war between Bráhmanism and Buddhism of which we have any account was fought by Ráma, the son of Dasarath, king of Ayodhyá or Oude, with Rávana, king of Lancá or Ceylon. The story has been rendered immortal by the poem of Válmik, which is prized by the Hindu alike for its historical and religious associations. The accounts of Ráma's birth, boyhood, and marriage do not require to be here noticed; but it may be mentioned at the outset that he, like Parusrám, was an incarnation of the Deity. The story of his adventures commences from the date of his banishment, which was procured by the intrigues of his step-mother, Kaikeyi. His father having become very old, Ráma was selected by the people for the office of heir-apparent and co-adjutor of the king; but his installation to the office was opposed by Kaikeyi, who besought her husband to install her own son Bharat in preference, and to send Ráma into exile. The old king was weak and silly enough to comply, whereupon Ráma, with his wife, Sitá, and a step-brother, Lakshmana, proceeded as ascetics to the forests near the sources of the Godávery, to fulfil the parental command. The sentence was for fourteen years; but, Dasarath dying almost immediately after Ráma's departure, Ráma was summoned to occupy the throne by Bharat himself, which, however, he refused to do, lest his filial obedience should be impugned.

While in the wilderness Ráma killed several Rákshases or demons (by whom Buddhists apparently are meant), who persecuted the sages or Bráhmans dwelling in the forests for their worship of the gods. Among the Rákshases thus

encountered were two brothers of Rávana and one of his sisters. The latter offered love to Ráma, and, on being told that he was already married, rushed upon Sitá in her jealousy, to do hurt to her; whereupon Lakshmana thoughtlessly cut off her ears and nose, and her brothers attempting to avenge her were killed. This brought out Rávana to the spot; but he did not come either to fight for glory or to avenge his relatives. He came only to gratify his lust for Sitá, for whose hand he had before unsuccessfully competed, and who was now represented to him as being as beautiful as Lakshmi, without her lotos. An accomplice of his assuming the form of a golden stag with silver spots lured out Ráma from the hermitage, and Laskhmana being shortly after sent after Ráma by his devoted wife to assist him against fancied danger, Rávana came into the hut, declared his passion, and, being indignantly answered, carried off Sitá on his chariot through the air. This being observed by Jatáya, the king of the vultures, an attempt was made to rescue Sitá, but proved unsuccessful, Jatáya being mortally wounded in the conflict and surviving only long enough to give the necessary directions to Ráma for the search of his wife.

Now comes the story of the war. In the middle of the southern ocean was the wonderful island of Lancá which owned Rávana for its lord, and thither Sitá was supposed to have been carried. Her captor was a great warrior, and had a large army of Rákshases under his command. "If you desire to conquer him," said Kabandha, the *Gandharva*, to Ráma, "you must form a friendly alliance with Sugriva, one of the most powerful of the monkey-chiefs, who will first require your assistance against his brother Bali, and then assist you in return." The advice of Kabandha was followed; the monkey-chief was assisted in his quarrel with his brother for the possession of the monkey-throne, and, being raised to it, espoused heart and soul the cause of his ally. Not only all the monkeys in Southern India, but all the bears in it also, that is all the aboriginal races of the country of every description—monkeys standing for

foresters, and bears for mountaineers—came forward to assist Ráma. The monkeys were of all species—white, black, blue, green, red, and yellow, and were counted by millions, and marshalled under their respective leaders, of whom the most important were Sugriva, Angada, Hanumán, Nila, Rambha, Sárambha, Vánara, Arundha, Darvindha, and Nala. The bears were forty crores in number, and were led by their king Jámbavat.

The Ulysses of the monkey tribe was Hanumán, who was deputed southwards to discover the whereabouts of Sitá. He took charge of Ráma's marriage-ring, and leapt over the channel between India and Ceylon. The capital of the enemy he found well-defended, within seven ranges of walls, namely, of iron, stone, brass, lead, copper, silver, and gold, all guarded by Rákshases of great might. But he eluded them all by assuming the form of a cat, and, after many difficulties and a prolonged search, found Sitá safely secured in the Asoka grove, surrounded by Rákshasa ladies set about her to induce her to return the love of her captor. Rávana himself came in shortly after to press his suit, and Hanumán was thus made an eye-witness of the fidelity of Sitá who indignantly rejected the overtures of the Buddha king. If Rávana had vanquished Ráma in battle, Sitá would, by the laws of war, have been compelled to become his wife; but, as he had carried her off by stealth only, he had no acknowledged right over her, and was therefore obliged to await her consent to the gratification of his passion. A private interview with Sitá was now managed by Hanumán, who presented his credentials, the marriage-ring, and proposed to carry her off on his broad shoulders. But to this the Kshetriya lady would not agree, because she would not voluntarily touch the body of any male person except Ráma; and Hanumán was therefore compelled to go back, Sitá giving him in exchange for the ring the only jewel she had on her person, a golden chaplet which held her hair, as her token to Ráma, with ardent entreaties that he would come and deliver her at once from the insults and solicitations to which she was obliged to

submit, and the impressive notice that, if he did not rescue her within two months, she would destroy herself. Before retiring from the island, however, the monkey-chief thought it befitting his character to commit a deal of mischief in the enemy's capital, and he accordingly destroyed eighty thousand soldiers, seven chiefs, five commanders of inferior note, and a son of Rávana; besides which, he set fire to several buildings by lashing about his tail, w hich the Rákshase had foolishly ignited.

On the return of Hanumán, Ráma advanced towards Lancá to invade it. His army, though composed only of monkeys and bears, was innumerable, and covered 100,000 miles of land; and this vast body proceeded towards the sea as one man, rejoicing in their strength. The earth trembled at the loudness of their shouts and the lashing of their tails; mountains and wildernesses were passed over with the swiftness of the wind: but consternation and astonishment were on every face when, arrived on the sea-shore, they saw the waves bursting on the beach. How was the sea now to be crossed? Varuna, the god of waters, was invoked for assistance, and suggested the construction of a bridge by the monkey-chief Nala, a son of Vishwa-karmá, the great architect of heaven. There was no difficulty experienced in finding materials for the work, for the monkeys, going out in all directions, brought together a large stock of trees, mountains, and loose stones, and Nala made these float by the simple process of engraving Ráma's name on each, Ráma having previously, by the strength of his arrows, forced the ocean-god to agree to support a bridge.

The bridge thus constructed was called Shetbandha, and was one hundred *jojans* long and ten *jojans* broad. The whole army passed over it with ease, and then encamped near the Subala mountains, tidings of their entry into the island being communicated through Hanumán to Sitá in the Asoka grove. Intermediately, Ráma acquired a valuable coadjutor in Vibishana, one of the brothers of Rávana, who, being a worshipper of Vishnu, was not a Buddhist,

and who was besides inimical to the island-king as looking askance on his throne. He excited the ire of Rávana by proposing the restoration of Sitá, upon which he was indignantly expelled from Lancá, and at once came over to Ráma, by whom he was proclaimed king in place of Rávana.

Many evil omens were also seen at Lancá at the same time that the invading army entered it. The heavens exhibited themselves in flames, lightnings flashed incessantly, heavy thunder was heard in every direction, showers of blood and flesh dropped from the clouds, asses were brought forth by cows and cats by mice, the image of Bhaváni wore a constant and horrible smile, and crows, kites, and vultures hovered around as if expecting to be fed. But these signs did not affect the nerves of Rávana. He knew that he had a large and disciplined army, and that his generals were all of tried worth, the best among them being his own son Indrajit. He had great confidence also in Prahasta, his commander-in-chief; his brother Kumbhakarna had the reputation of invincibility; and the chiefs of lesser name, like Kálnema, were innumerable. The surrender of Sitá, when formally asked for, was for these reasons rejected with scorn. The demon-army then marched out of the city, striking up their kettle-drums and instruments of war. They were mounted at hap-hazard on buffaloes, camels, lions, elephants, asses, hogs, and wolves; and were armed with swords, tridents, clubs, bows, arrows, maces, and spears. The arms of their opponents were trees torn up by the roots, huge rocks, and their own nails and teeth, which had been sharpened as swords for the fight.

The first engagement was of words, both the monkeys and the Rákshases abusing each other heartily; and this is the way the Hindus commence their contests up to the present hour. The monkeys then began an earnest attack with trees and stones, the Rákshases returning the compliment with their arrows. Rávana mounted the roof of his palace to witness the engagement; but eleven arrows were shot at him by Ráma, ten of which discrowned his ten

heads, while the eleventh cut down his royal umbrella, whereupon Rávana was compelled to retire from shame, amid the jeers and remonstrances of his own wife, Mandádori. The slaughter on the field was so great that a river flowed from the blood that was shed, and a hill was formed of limbs and bones. After long fighting the monkeys began to give way, and eventually ran off; but they were soon rallied and brought back by the valiant Sugriva, who put even Indrajit to flight, till the latter came back in a charmed chariot which made him invisible, and was thus enabled to catch both Ráma and Lakshmana in a noose of serpents which had been given to him by Bruhmá. Ráma now summoned Garuṛa, the deadly foe of serpents, to his aid, and at his sight the noose fell off and the serpents fled, whereby the brother-chiefs recovered their liberty.

The field was yet indecisive when Rávana entered it in person. Andromache-like Mandádori endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so, but he refused to listen to her. A thousand horses were harnessed to his car; his ten heads appeared as ten mountains; his teeth were as anvils; and his twenty hands had twenty different descriptions of arms to fight with. He came out with a vast army in his rear, and there was great battle on whichever side he pressed. There were also many single combats, but they were generally very indecisive. That between Ráma and Rávana ended by a crescent-shaped arrow of the former cutting off again the ten crowns from the latter's heads, upon which Rávana was once more obliged to retire.

All the hopes of Rávana were now centred in his invincible brother Kumbhakarna, who slept six months at a time, and then awoke only for a day when nothing could withstand his power. He was awakened with difficulty, and then gave expression to fearful dreams of imminent danger which had disturbed his sleep. He nevertheless taught with a stout heart; but all his prodigious valour was of no avail. He had struck terror among the monkeys, and captured their chief Sugriva; but at this moment Ráma

succeeded in cutting off his head, and that raised a wail in the palaces of Lancá.

Indrajit, the valiant son of Rávana, again came forward in his magic car to retrieve the ill-fortune of the day, and, invisible himself, he created great havoc in the monkey ranks. But the physician Sushena revived all the wounded by the juice of certain herbs fresh gathered from the summit of a hill called Rishaba, and a mountain called Gandhamadana, both of which were brought over bodily by Hanumán to the battle-field, on his failing to discover the herbs which were wanted. The case was thus bitterly summed up by Rávana and his counsellors: "All the Rákshases are slain and never revive, but the monkeys that are slain rise up again to renew the fight." The fact is, all the inhabitants of the Dandaká forest, which extended from near Alláhábád to Cape Comorin, were in arms against the little island of Ceylon. The disparity in numbers was too great to be made up by valour: they closed the gates of Lancá in despair!

Then Ráma commanded the monkey-chiefs to force into Lancá and set fire to it, which was done at oncee. This brought out two nephews of Rávana and his son Indrajit to renew the fight; but they came forth only to die. Rávana appeared next in person to avenge them, but was so sorely beset by Ráma that he was compelled to fall back. He then beseeched Sukra, the preceptor of the Ràkshases, to help him with his advice; and Sukra taught him certain *mantras* which, with a specified sacrifice, was to enable him to obtain weapons of fire that would make him invincible. But the spies of Ráma being on the alert, the monkeys, headed by Angada and Hanumán, broke open the palace-door and disturbed the rite, forcing Rávana to fly to the rescue of Mandádori who was laid hold of; and so no aid came out of Sukra's charm.

But Rávana was unsubdued. With or without fire-arms he was determined to die game; and he came out to the field and renewed his conflict with Ráma, and for a long

time fought on equal terms, victory inclining sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. The contest was maintained without intermission for seven days and nights. The king of the demons bore a charmed life, for no sooner was one of his heads lopped off than another arose to replace it; till Ráma got hold of a sacred arrow which Bruhmá had made in times past from the spirit of all the gods, and which Ráma had received as a present from Agastya; and this pierced Rávana to the heart, going out of his back, whereby the bulwark of Buddhism was prostrated.

There was unusual jubilee at the triumph of Ráma, for the gods showered *parijáta* flowers on him from heaven, the *gandharvas* struck up their musical instruments, and the *apsarás* danced. They all praised the son of Dasarath for having delivered them from the oppressions of the Buddha king, and Ráma stood on the plain, the observed of all observers, flushed with glory and renown.

The restoration of Sitá to her lord, and his triumphant return to Oude, do not require any notice here. The age of the war has been approximately laid down at between B.C. 1800 and 1700. Apart from its fabulous decorations it has every right to be regarded as a real and historical event.

CHAPTER V.

THE SCYTHIC INVASIONS.

DATES—VARIOUS.

WE now come to the Scythic invasions; but the information available in regard to them is too vague to be of any great use to us. A fondness for establishing a new hypothesis has led several writers to exalt the importance of these inroads in very remote times; but it does not appear that they were ever in reality anything better than the Mahrattá raids of more recent eras, each a passing whirlwind of great fury that left no trace but of the devastations it made. The expeditions, however, were very frequent, and were probably so even before the date of the *Rámáyana*. Wilford, in the *Asiatic Researches*, refers to one invasion in B.C. 2000, when the king, Báhu, was defeated by the Sákás, till his son Ságara repelled them with his *agni-astram* or fire-arms. The best known of the invaders was Oghuz Khán, the predecessor of Chingez, whose era has been supposed to be somewhere between B.C. 1800 and 1600, though some make it yet more ancient, and who is said to have first conquered Irák or Babylon, Azerbiján, and Armenia, and then turned his arms towards India, of which all the northern provinces, namely, Kabool, Ghazni, and Cashmere were subdued. The first two provinces were easily conquered; but at Cashmere he was obstinately opposed by a king named Jagma, (assumed by those who give Oghuz Khán an older era than between B.C. 1800 and 1600, to be the same as Jamadagni, the father of Parusrám), who fortified and defended all the mountain-passes leading to the country, and thus retarded the progress of the enemy for one whole year. At the expiration of that period, however, Oghuz Khán succeeded in defeating his opponent, and pur-

sued his army with considerable slaughter. A great part of the inhabitants of Cashmere were also killed, Jagma himself being of the number, after which Oghuz Khán retired to his own dominions.

The path being thus opened, the Scythians, whose sole object was plunder, repeated their inroads as often as they chose, devastating all the country of the Punjáb; nor is it impossible that they occasionally penetrated into the more southern and south-eastern provinces, which lay open to them and promised a rich booty. When Cyaxares, the Median king, defeated the Scythians under Madyes, a great portion of them dispersed precipitately and endeavoured to secure settlements in the neighbouring regions, and some of these are supposed to have penetrated into the western and central districts of India. The descendants of Kiun and Áy, or the Sun and Moon, the sons of Oghuz Khán, also succeeded in entering the country in the same direction, on the empire of the Moguls in Tartary being subverted by the Tartars; and, at a later date, the serpent or Takshak race forced their way still further inwards, as is implied by the word Nága, or serpent, occurring so frequently in the annals of Central India. It is believed that the Takshaks penetrated even into the Deccan, establishing their first settlement in it on the site still called Nágpore. But all this is mere surmise: we have no authentic accounts of their wars, or of the era in which they were waged.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADVENTURES OF HERCULES, OR BALARÁM AND KRISHNA.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1500.

THE information regarding Hercules is also very indefinite. Diodorus says that Hercules was born among the Indians, who, like the Greeks, armed him with a club and dressed him in a lion's hide. The learned are, however, not well-agreed as to the particular Indian warrior who is to be identified with the hero of Thebes. Some consider Hercules and Balarám, or Ráma the third, to be the same, and the general representations of both very much agree, Balarám being usually depicted with a club in one hand and a lion's skin thrown round the loins. The identity of names is greater with Krishna or Hari, the brother of Balarám; and, generally, the achievements of both Balarám and Krishna were akin to those of the Grecian warrior, partaking less of the character of great wars than of personal adventures undertaken against monsters, tyrants, and wild beasts. Jarásandhá, the ruler of Magadha, has also been put forward by some as the original Hercules; and others again have held Viswadhanwa in that light. With the last, however, the analogy holds good only in this, that both he and Hercules were afflicted with a loathsome and excruciating disease of which they died, while with the third the accordance is, if possible, still less, since Jarásandhá led a stationary life, as a great king with a fixed abode, while Hercules, like Balarám and Krishna, was constantly roaming about in search of adventures. We may regard Balarám and Krishna, therefore, as jointly representing Hercules in India, their lives and actions being scarcely separable. As the *Mahábhárut* says: "Wherever Krishna

is there will be the hero Balarám, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailása, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough." The greatest achievements of Krishna were those interlaced with the history of the Pándavas, to which we shall separately refer. Apart from them the two brothers performed many deeds of valour in their wanderings, which may be here briefly noticed.

Ugrasena, the king of Mathoorá, having been deposed by his son Kangsa, the latter assumed the character of a merciless tyrant, and was both hated and feared. His father was a worshipper of Vishnu, while he himself paid homage to Siva, so that the struggle between them was virtually one of religions. The daughter of Ugrasena—according to some authorities his niece—was named Devaki, and was married to Vasudeva. Shortly after her marriage a voice came from heaven to Kangsa that a son of Devaki would slay him. This decided his conduct towards the Jádavas, or the descendants of Jadu, whom he followed with remorseless animosity, making several attempts to destroy them. Balarám, the first son of Devaki, was rescued by being brought up as the child of Rohini, another wife of Vasudeva. Krishna, the second son, was saved by Vasudeva flying with him across the Jumná and placing him under the care of Nanda, a cowherd, who, with his wife, Yasodá, brought him up as their own.

The pranks of the youthful prodigies need not be remembered. In one of them Krishna is described as obtaining a great victory on the banks of the Jumná over Káliya Nága, or the black serpent, which probably refers to one of the earliest wars of the Hindus with the Scythians. The serpent was obstructing the passage of the river which Krishna had to go by. He therefore attacked him boldly, and, struggling hard with him, tore out his thousand heads and trampled him to death. Balarám was present by his side, but did not take part in the conflict. Shortly after, when Kangsa performed a sacrifice to Siva, both Balarám and Krishna went to

Mathoorá, to witness the games, and Krishna having bent or broken the bow of Siva which no one could lift up, was watched with suspicion, whereupon the two brothers quarrelling with the warders fell upon them, and then made good their retreat notwithstanding all the endeavours of Kangsa to capture them. They made their appearance again in a wrestling-match before the king, and again giving offence were ordered to be seized, upon which they slew all the wrestlers, Krishna signalizing himself further by attacking and slaying Kangsa himself, after which old Ugrasena, released from confinement, was replaced on the throne.

Kangsa left two widows, both daughters of Jarásandhá, and that large-armed warrior, collecting an enormous army, determined to revenge the death of his son-in-law. He held in alliance akin to subjection several princes only second to himself in fame, such as, Sisupála, king of Chedi, Bhagadatta, king of Kámroop, the kings of Banga and Pandra, and many others; and all these were called together to give Krishna battle. He was also assisted by Kálá-Javana, the king of Ghazni, whom Wilford identifies with Deucalion, or Deo-Kálá-Javana, who, joined by the Sákás and other barbarians of the north, entered India. Mathoorá was besieged eighteen times by Jarásandhá, the fight on the last occasion being continued for three days, after which Krishna was obliged to fly, and took refuge with his family and followers in Dwárká, a strong place on the sea-coast, in Guzerát. This appears to have been the only great reverse that Krishna ever met with. Balarám was the first to rally and return to Brindábun; and after him Krishna also came back.

The greatest war of Krishna was that with Kálá-Javana, who fought fifteen bloody battles with him, and nearly overcame and subdued him, till he was obliged to have recourse to artifice and deceit. Returning from Dwarká Krishna presented himself before Kálá-Javana alone, upon which the barbarian, rising in great rage, attempted to seize him. Krishna fled and Kálá-Javana pursued him,

till they came to a cave where slept a giant named Muchucanda, a son of Mándhátá, who had aided the gods in defeating the *daityas*. The gods out of gratitude had directed Muchucanda to ask a boon, and the fatigued warrior, having wished for a long sleep, had obtained it, with this warrant of security that whoever awakened him would be destroyed by the fire of his eye. Krishna, knowing the secret, boldly entered the cave and took his stand by the giant's head, when Kálá-Javana came in pursuing him, and seeing a man asleep struck him to awaken him. Muchucanda opening his eyes a flame darted from it and reduced Kálá-Javana to ashes, after which Krishna, gathering his forces, fell upon the Javanas and put them to the sword.

Another ally of Járasandhá was Gonerdha, the king of Cashmere. He and his army were attacked by Balarám on the banks of the Jumná, and entirely defeated and cut up, Gonerdha himself being among the slain. His son, Dámoodara, tried to avenge his death, but was also killed. Notwithstanding these successes, however, Krishna and Balarám were not able of themselves, either separately or together, to subdue their principal opponent, Jarásandhá, against whom they were obliged to enlist the assistance of the Pándavas. These latter were anxious to celebrate the *Rájsuya* sacrifice, but were opposed in their wish by Jarásandhá, who regarded himself as the lord-paramount of India. Krishna took advantage of the disagreement, and offered to make common cause with the Pándavas against the king of Magadha, and, this being agreed to, Jarásandhá was surprised in his capital, Báliputra or Pátáli-putra, while resting after the conquest of the Práchi, and being simultaneously attacked by all his enemies, was defeated. Some accounts say that he was killed in single combat by Bheem; others that he was split asunder by Balarám and Krishna.

Krishna and Balarám also fought with Bánasur, or Rájáh Bán, who ruled over Anga, the country bordering on the Ganges to the east of Behár, and the remains of

whose place of residence are shown to this day near Purneáh. The war arose from the rape of Oosha, the daughter of Bánasur, by Oniroodha, the grandson of Krishna, whom the angry father captured and imprisoned. Krishna and Balarám came to rescue him, and three of Bánasur's cities were taken by Balarám and destroyed; but the quarrel was eventually settled amicably, by the marriage of Oniroodha with Oosha.

Another great achievement of Krishna was the conquest of Sankhásoora, a sea-monster. The wife of Kasya, the spiritual guide of Krishna, complained to him that the ocean had swallowed up her children near the plain of Prabhása, or the western coast of Guzerát, and supplicated him to recover them. Krishna hastened to the shore, and was there informed by the sea-god that Sankhásoora, or Panchajanya, had carried away the children. The palace of this monster was a shell in the ocean—perhaps a poetical conceit for a little island—and his subjects were cannibals or demons, who roamed by night and plundered the flat country, from which they carried off men, women, and children. The inference is that they were pirates, who lived on the sea shore and made frèquent depredations inland for recruits and slaves. Krishna with an army of deities attacked and defeated them. He then pursued their chief through the sea, and after a prolonged conflict, in which the waters were violently agitated and the land overflowed, he drew out the monster from his shell, and slew him, carrying off the shell as a memorial of his victory, and using it ever after in battle as a trumpet. Not yet finding the children of Kasya, the victor went straight down to Yampuri, or hell, where the sound of the conch alarmed Yama, who, making his prostration, at once gave up the children sought for, upon which they were restored by Krishna to their mother.

Among the other acts and adventures of the brother-heroes were: a great battle fought by Krishna with the bear Jámbavat, whose daughter, Jámbavati, he took to wife; another battle fought with the king of horses dwelling in

the woods of the Jumná; the destruction of a *dánava* bearing the form of a bull; the striking of a bleak rock with Aaron's wand, by Balarám, in the forest of Virát, to produce water to assuage the thirst of Koonti; the conquest of Naraka, an *asoor*, and the demolition of his impregnable fortress, Prágjyotisha, which were achieved jointly; the destruction, in the same manner, of Sunaman, the second wicked son of Ugrasena, together with his whole army; and the slaughter of many *dasyas*, dragons, and *gandharvas*, both separately and together, at different times. In the war of the Kurus and Pándavas Balarám refused to take part, while Krishna proposed that one party should accept his army and the other himself only, upon which the Pándavas took him and the Kurus his army. Throughout the war Krishna was the soul of the Pándava party The only occasion when Balarám interfered was when Bheem, by an unfair hit, smashed the thigh of Duryodhon, upon which Balarám indignantly pointed out that the rule of fighting with the mace did not allow any stroke below the waist, and threatened to slay all the Pándavas for the blow, and actually pursued and chased them from the field till Krishna interceded for them and mollified him.

Nothing that we have noticed in this chapter actually refers to any *great war;* but the adventures of Hercules in India are held to indicate a turning-point of Indian history, and therefore deserve to be noted. The events were all contemporaneous with the war of the *Mahábhárut*, some having occurred immediately before and some shortly after it.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR OF THE KURUS AND THE PÁNDAVAS.

APPROXIMATE DATE B.C. 1450.

THE *Mahábhárut* gives details of the disunion between the Kurus and the Pándavas, who were cousins by birth and rivals for the throne of Hastinápore, a place which stood on the Ganges, about forty miles below Haridwár. The common ancestor of the parties was Bhárat, who laid the foundation of the great *ráj* of Bháratbarsha, or, at all events, after whom India was so named. The twenty-fourth in descent from Bhárat was Vichitravirya, who dying without issue, Vyasa, his half-brother, raised up seed to him by his widows and a slave, namely, Dhritaráshtra, the blind, by one widow, Pándu, the pale (probably a leper), by another widow, and Vidura, who was without blemish, by the slave. Both Dhritaráshtra and Pandu were brought up by their uncle, Bhisma, who had himself renounced the right of succession and taken the vow of a Brahmachári. The succession was also at first renounced by Dhritaráshtra on account of his blindness; and Vidura being held to be disqualified on account of his base birth, Pándu was raised to the throne. He preferred, however, the life of a forester to that of a king, and to indulge his passion for hunting, retired to the woods on the southern slope of the Himálayás, upon which the blind Dhritaráshtra was, with the assistance of Bhisma as regent, obliged to assume the reins of government. The sons of Dhritaráshtra were one hundred in number, of whom Duryodhon was the eldest. The progeny of Pándu were less numerous, consisting of five sons only, who were poetically said to be begotten by the gods, namely, Yudhisthira by Dharma, Bheem by Pavana, Arjun by Indra, and Nakula and

Sahadeva by Aswini-Kumára. The story was probably invented to cover some family disgrace; and we read, that on the death of Pándu, the Kurus openly asserted the illegitimacy of the Pándavas before their assembled kin. But the priesthood and old Dhritaráshtra befriended them; and after having been brought up together under the paternal care of Dhritaráshtra and the instruction of Drona, a Bráhman, Yudhisthra, as the eldest son of the joint family, was installed as heir-apparent. The people afterwards went still further and invested him with the seal of royalty, holding that Dhritaráshtra by his blindness was not qualified to reign; and this led to the Pándavas being exiled by the Kurus, upon which they travelled in disguise, first to Varanvata, then to Ekáchakra, and eventually to Panchála, the Bheel country, then ruled over by Draupada, where Arjun won the hand of Draupadi, the daughter of the king, who became the wife of all the brothers in common.

Strengthened by this alliance the Pándavas threw off their disguise, and the honour won by them induced Dhritaráshtra to recall them, and settle all differences by dividing the kingdom between them and his own sons. The portion allotted to the Pándavas was called Khandavaprastha, within which they founded the city of Indraprastha, the ruins of which are shown to this day between modern Delhi and the Kootub Minár. The good management of the Pándavas soon made their city more prosperous than Hastinápore, and this filled the Kurus with envy and hatred, which were heightened when Yudhisthira undertook to celebrate the *Rájsuya* sacrifice, and carried out his intent with the assistance of Krishna. The sacrifice implied an assertion of paramount sovereignty, and Duryodhon, the eldest son of Dhritaráshtra was therefore especially anxious to perform it; but he was disqualified from doing so in the lifetime of his father, not being the head of his own family; and this greatly increased his jealousy. Still plotting for the downfall of the Pándavas, he invited them to a gambling match, and the wisest of them, Yudhisthira, fell into the snare. Tacitus refers to

the gambling habits of the ancient Germans. They are, if possible, still stronger among the Hindus. Yudhisthira first staked and lost the throne of Indraprastha, and then, to recover it, staked Draupadi, who was taken by the Kurus as a slave. Still unsatisfied, he staked twelve years of personal liberty; and losing throne, wife, and liberty, became a wanderer, along with his brothers, in the wilderness skirting the distant ocean.

Their term of banishment ended, the Pándavas came back and demanded the restoration of their rights. To this Dhritaráshtra and Bhisma were agreeable; but Duryodhon rejected the claim with scorn, urging that the Pándavas had lost everything in the game for good, and not for any stipulated period, and could not reclaim what they had lost. There was nothing for it now but to fight the matter out, and for this purpose a large army was collected on either side, after which both parties repaired to the plain of Kurukshetra (Tánnessur) and intrenched themselves, Bhisma being appointed commander-in-chief of the Kurus, and Dhristyadyumna, the brother of Draupadi, the commander-in-chief of the Pándavas. The number of grand-armies on the side of the Pándavas was seven, and on the side of the Kurus eleven. The assistance of Krishna was claimed by both sides, upon which he offered himself to one party, stipulating that he would lay down his arms and abstain from fighting, and his army of one hundred-million warriors to the other. The Pándavas chose the chief, while the Kurus accepted his army. Similarly, Balarám's assistance was also applied for; but he positively refused to mix himself up in the strife in any way, and so they were obliged to go without him. The great generals on the side of the Pándavas, besides themselves were Krishna, Draupada, Dhristyadyumna, Sikhandina, Viráta, Satyaki, and Chekitana; while those on the side of the Kurus were Bhisma, Karna, Salya, Kripa, Aswathámá, Drona, Somadatta, Vikarma, and Jayadrátha. The war was, as all personal contests are, a war to the knife. There were eighteen days of combat, all of them distinguished by several single

engagements, and by individual deeds of great prowess. "The father knew not his son, nor the disciple his preceptor," and the plains were strewed with heaps of the slain, amid the roar of heaven's artillery and the blaze of meteors which shot across the darkened sky. On the tenth day Bhisma was slain, after a terrible conflict with Arjun, upon which the command of the Kurus was assumed by Drona. This made Arjun retire from the contest, from an unwillingness to contend with Drona, which gave a momentary advantage to the Kurus, who distinguished themselves particularly under the lead of Karna and Aswathámá. On the fifteenth day, however, the fortunes of the field were retrieved by Dhristyadyumna, who fought with and destroyed Drona, upon which the command-in-chief of the Kurus was conferred on Karna, who renewed the fight. Karna was struck down by Bheem, but was rescued by Salya. This was followed by a general engagement, in which the Kurus were assisted by a fresh army of *Mlech'has*, or barbarians. Then followed a personal combat between Bheem and Dushásana, one of the brothers of Duryodhon, who had insulted Draupadi in slavery, for which Bheem had vowed to drink his blood and kill him, which vow was now accomplished. On the seventeenth day there was a great conflict between Karna and Arjun, in which Arjun was wounded and stunned; but, the wheel of Karna's car coming off, Karna was obliged to leap down, and this enabled Arjun to kill him with an arrow. The last general-in-chief of the Kurus was Salya, who had only one day's command, being slain by Yudhisthira. His first encounter was with Bheem, in which both fought with the mace and were equally matched. In his subsequent contest with Yudhisthira he fared worse from the commencement, and was at first aided and rescued by Aswathámá, but was eventually killed. At this juncture Salwa, a leader of the *Mlech'has*, pressed hard on the Pándavas, but was finally repelled and killed by Dhristyadyumna, and, the Pándavas rallying, the Kuru army was again broken. A temporary advantage was gained by them once more from a shower of arrows being

discharged by Sakuni; but the continual reverses that followed soon drove them almost entirely out of the field. A final charge made by Duryodhon was easily repelled, which led to a complete and general rout, upon which Duryodhon fled and concealed himself in a lake, while the only chiefs who remained on the field were Kripa, Aswathámá, and Kritavarman. Both the victors and the vanquished then made a search for the missing chief of the Kurus, who was at last discovered and pressed to return. But Duryodhon was so disheartened that he preferred to surrender the *ráj* to the Pándavas, and offered to retire to the desert. Yudhisthira, however, refused to accept the *ráj* except by conquest; and, continuing to taunt Duryodhon, compelled him to come out. Duryodhon now agreed to fight singly with Bheem, and a tedious contest with clubs was carried on, till Bheem terminated it by striking a blow on Duryodhon's thigh, by which he was felled to the ground. The judges of the field declared this to be a felon-stroke, as in club-fights no blow below the navel was allowed; but the quarrel was terminated by Krishna proclaiming Yudhisthira to be the rightful king. Aswathámá, being determined to revenge the death of his father, Drona, now made a night-attack on the Pándava camp, and killed a large number of warriors in their sleep. He also killed the sons of Draupadi, mistaking them for her husbands; and the news of these deaths revived Duryodhon for a moment, who complimented Aswathámá by saying that not even Bhisma, Karna, or Drona had done such service to his cause as himself. After this Duryodhon died, and the difference between the Kurus and the Pándavas was finally closed.

The war having terminated in favour of the Pándavas, the eldest of the brothers, Yudhisthira, was raised to the throne, and celebrated the *Aswamedh Jagya* which established his sovereignty. But they were all dissatisfied with their life in India, and particularly with the result of the war, which had well-nigh exterminated the fifty-six tribes of Jadu; and Arjun, having seen the shade of Vyasa, was

advised by him to abandon all worldly concerns, an advice which was accepted by all the brothers, who placed Parikshit, the grandson of Arjun, on the throne, and tried to return to their Scythian home. They are described as having attempted the passes through Nepál, but are said to have died on the way, one after another, with the sole exception of Yudhisthira and his dog, who in living form went together to heaven—by which Scythia of course is meant. Yudhisthira, the wise and the just, is the Ulysses of the story, with a dash of uprightness and integrity in his character which did not belong to any of the Grecian heroes. Bheem resembles Ajax, and Arjun may be likened to Achilles, though not equally thin-brained. The whole war refers apparently to one of the earliest Scythic inroads into India, of which the date has been approximately fixed at B.C. 1450 or 1400, in which, after having settled in Upper Hindustán, the barbarians fought out a bloody war among themselves, by which they were all but annihilated. All the great chiefs of India of the day, from Afghánistán to Cape Comorin, are mentioned as having joined the conflict on one side or the other; so that, though the commotion was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Hastinápore, it directly affected the remotest confines of the peninsula.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERSIAN INVASIONS.

DATES—VARIOUS.

OF the Persian invasions of India the first is said to have been led by Cyrus, who, Xenophon says, made the Indus the eastern boundary of his empire. The Persian writers go further and assert that Roostum, the general of Cyrus, carried on a war of long continuance in the heart of India, subdued the whole country, and dethroning the sovereign, raised another chosen by himself, who founded a new dynasty. The king of India appears, in this latter account, first as an ally of Áfrásáib, the king of Turán or Tartary, against Cyrus, and is said to have been defeated along with Áfrásáib at Khárism, on the banks of the Oxus. This victory having extended the dominions of Persia on the east as far as Siestán and Zábulistán, gave Roostum an immediate passage into the heart of India, which, it is asserted, was fully availed of. But, happily for the repose of India afterwards, the fury of Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, was directed towards Ethiopia, Lybia, and Egypt; and so little concern was felt for India by the Persians that, by the time of Darius Hystaspes, all the knowledge previously acquired by them in regard to it was entirely forgotten, which led to the exploration of the country about the Indus by Scylax before a fresh invasion of it was attempted.

The project of Darius was based on an envy of the maritime genius of the Greeks, and of the great naval arrangements fitted out by them. He determined to construct a Persian navy of equal strength, and, on its being formed, to test its efficiency he directed Scylax to sail with it down the Indus, ascertain the exact point where the river met the ocean, and then, coasting along the Persian

and Arabian shore, enter the Red Sea and sail up to the point whence Necho, king of Egypt, had despatched his fleet to sail round Africa. This hazardous navigation was accomplished by Scylax, and the information furnished by him in respect to India emboldened Darius to invade that country, all the western provinces of which were conquered. But no details of the wars which must have been fought are known. Herodotus only says that India was one of the countries that paid tribute to Darius; and, as the tribute is said to have amounted to nearly a third of the whole revenue of the rest of the Persian dominions, the inference is that a large part of India was conquered. The Persian historian, Mirkhond, asserts that Isfundear (Xerxes) the son of Darius, compelled all the princes bordering on the Indus to renounce idolatry and embrace the religion of Zerdosht; and as he is said to have marched southward so far as to reach the shore of Guzerát to see the Indian Ocean, his line of conquest would seem to have been pretty extensive.

After the times of Darius and Xerxes, a nominal supremacy over India was arrogated by the Persian kings, and the Persian historians assert that tribute was paid; but the Indians east of the Indus frequently mentioned to the followers of Alexander that they had never before been invaded from the west; and, putting this and that together, it would seem that even the conquest of Darius did not leave much permanent impression far beyond the Indus, while that of Xèrxes was probably no better than a raid or marauding expedition that left no mark behind it. We read indeed that Indian troops served under both Xerxes and Darius Codomanus against the Greeks; but that does not necessarily imply the exercise of sovereign authority by the Persians in India, for it has been explained by Arrian that the Persians hired mercenaries from India to fight for them. This at least may be fairly assumed that, after the time of Darius, there was no great war with India from the direction of Persia, till we come to the invasion of Alexander the Great.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

B.C. 332 TO 325.

AFTER the overthrow of the Persian Empire, Alexander, indulging in dreams of universal dominion, advanced towards India, which he believed to be the extremity of the earth. His army at the outset consisted only of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; but these represented the flower of the warriors of Greece especially selected to avenge her wrongs on Persia, and their number was afterwards considerably increased by the additions made to them out of the turbulent races which were subdued. The total army brought against India is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand men. The onward march of the invader was first opposed by some of the frontier tribes known by the now undistinguishable names of the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arasaci. He had next to fight the Assaceni, whose capital, Massagá, did not surrender without a vigorous defence, in which Alexander himself was wounded; and he was considerably surprised at a display of valour which he had not expected. After that, he had to reduce the important out-posts of Bazirá, Orobantes, Ecboliná, and Aornus, the last a rock-crowned fortress reputed to have baffled even the efforts of Hercules; and it was not till all these conquests were effected that the Macedonians found an open passage to the banks of the Indus.

The first country arrived at was Taxilá, the kingdom of Taxilus, which lay between the Indus and the Jhelum; but the king of it offering no resistance, Alexander gave him a favourable reception. The case was different with Astes, the king of Peucelaotes, which lay between the Indus and

the Cophen, or Cow river, who, having endeavoured to oppose the Macedonians, was slain, and his capital taken after a siege of thirty days, and given over to one Sangæus, a native nobleman not friendly to the house of Astes. The passage of Alexander inwards was rendered facile mainly by this disunion among the native princes, one of the peculiar traits of their character from the remotest times. The sole cause of the easy submission of Taxilus is said to have been his enmity to Porus, Prasenjit, or Pauráva, whose territory lay between the Jhelum and the Chenáb, who was preparing to oppose the Greeks, but had two internal enemies to watch over, namely, Taxilus on one side, and Porus the younger, his own nephew, on the other. The other princes who submitted were Abisarus and Doxoreas, the first of whom is said to have possessed two dragons, one eighty and the other one hundred and forty cubits long, which guarded his mountainous country naturally difficult of access.

The demand of Alexander calling upon Porus to submit and pay tribute, received the high-minded reply that he, Porus, was not accustomed to do either, and that if Alexander wanted to fight with him he would meet him on his frontier, as befitted the position of both, in arms. Alexander received the challenge with pleasure; and Porus, true to his vaunt, guarded the passage of the Jhelum at the head of an army consisting of thirty thousand foot, seven thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. The stake on either side was great, the ardour for glory on both nearly equal; but, while Porus and his men trusted to *valour* only for success, Alexander perceived that his surest chance of victory depended on judicious *manœuvre*. To attempt to cross an impetuous river before a foe so daring was soon understood by him to be hopeless. He therefore waited on the bank with apparent indifference, till Porus was thrown off his guard, and then, taking advantage of a tremendous thunderstorm, crossed over when Porus little expected that he would ven-

ture to do so. The Hindu army was thus taken entirely by surprise, but still showed better fight than Alexander had anywhere encountered. The first to turn out was a son of Porus at the head of two thousand men, almost all of whom, including the prince, were cut up. This drew forth the veteran hero himself, at the head of his whole army, consisting of more than thirty-four thousand men, while the force which had crossed over with Alexander was only eleven thousand strong; with this difference that the strength of Porus lay in his infantry, while that of Alexander lay entirely in his cavalry. The Indian horse, nevertheless, broke through and penetrated the centre of the Macedonian army, giving proof of an intrepidity which filled Alexander with astonishment; and the issue of the battle might have been very different from what it was but for an unanticipated occurrence. The arm on which Porus had chiefly depended for success was his elephant-corps, and this effectually contributed to his defeat. The main efforts of the Greeks were directed to frightening the elephants, and in this they succeeded so well that the foot-soldiers of the Indian king, who were crowded around the elephants, were broken through and trampled over by the animals they themselves had brought to the field. The tumult and confusion thus created forced a precipitate retreat; but Porus still fought with a valour that commanded admiration and respect. Foiled on every side he yet persisted in continuing the war; till Alexander sent him his besom-friend Meroë, by whom he was induced to submit to fortune and the generosity of a victor who was not vindictive when his passions were not inflamed. Alexander, won by his valour, treated his opponent with unusual liberality. He felt the natural delight of a conqueror who had vanquished one worthy of his arms. Porus was at once restored to liberty, and a free gift made to him of his kingdom, which was largely extended by the addition of the several provinces which Alexander had taken from others, Alexander contenting himself by erecting two cities

in commemoration of his triumph, one of which was consecrated to the memory of (Peritas) a dog, and the other to that of (Bucephalus) a horse!

The invader next crossed the Chenáb, to occupy the country of Porus the younger, who, deserting his throne, fled for his life. Alexander then passed the Rávee, on the eastern bank of which he found a formidable enemy in the three confederated tribes of the Cathæi, Oxydracæ, and Malli, against whom he was obliged to bring the entire force of his army. The Cathæi, understood to be the same as the Kshetriyas, offered him the most vigorous opposition, but were eventually defeated, and their capital, Sangála, taken by storm, seventeen thousand men being killed and seventy thousand taken prisoners. The success of the invader spread terror through the adjacent places, a good many of which were abandoned, the people flying to the mountains for shelter, while all who could not do so—the aged, the wounded, and the infirm—were barbarously butchered by the Macedonians, on the plea that no second Sangála might arise behind them.

Inflamed with these successes, Alexander crossed the Beyáh, burning to approach the Ganges and meet the Práchi and the Gangarides, whose king, Agrammes, (Mahánanda) was said to be preparing to meet him with an army far more numerous than any he had yet encountered, and whose country was described to him as being the richest in India. But his troops refused to go further. The battles with Porus and the Cathæi had taken off the edge of their courage, and they heard with dismay of the mighty preparations which were being made by Agrammes to receive them, it being reported that he had already assembled an army of two hundred-thousand foot, eighty thousand horse, two thousand fighting chariots, and three thousand fighting elephants. The rage and indignation of Alexander at their obstinacy knew no bounds; but he covered both and tried to win them over by re-awakening their minds to ambition. "Have you forgotten," he exclaimed, "the armies of Darius, the uncounted millions

who perished before us at Issus and in the defiles of Cilicia, the myriads who vainly opposed us on the plains of Arbela? Are the Gangarides a braver and hardier race than those you have conquered in the Bactrian hills, or those who drenched with blood the Sogdian plain, or those who precipitated themselves before you down the rocky steeps of Aornus? . . . . Does the broad and rapid Ganges fill you with dismay? Have you not crossed the unfathomable deep itself? Or is it less safe to pass a wide and majestic river, flowing on with an even though rapid course, than an impetuous current like the Hydaspes (Jhelum), or a stream foaming over a rocky bed like the Acesines (Chenáb)." But his exhortations and elocution were of no avail. They were received by the soldiers without response or applause, in silence more expressive than words; and Alexander, submitting to circumstances, was compelled to abandon an enterprise from which even his most favourite generals agreed in dissuading him. The Hyphasis, or Sutledge, was the extreme limit of his advance into India; and he built on the banks of it twelve altars of hewn stone, fifty cubits high, as standing memorials of his triumph, before he returned.

In proceeding backwards from the Sutledge, Alexander had again to fight the Oxydracæ and the Malli, who, subdued before, had re-assembled to obstruct the return of his army. But Alexander, by marching through a desert country with great rapidity, was able to pierce into the very heart of the kingdom of the Malli unawares, and to reduce them, which so disconcerted the Oxydracæ that they, of their own accord, sent deputies to tender their submission. He then conquered several other mountain-races, captured and crucified one Musicanus, who had revolted after having submitted to him, and similarly punished a large number of Bráhmans who had instigated the revolt.

The further course of Alexander does not require to be followed. After a short excursion to the mouths of the Indus, he reduced the Oritæ (the Beloochees of modern

times), and then quitted India by the way of Gedrosiá (Mekrán), by crossing the desert, to Persia. His expedition to India partook more of the character of a raid than a conquest. The progress of his arms was rapid; but all the countries subdued re-asserted their independence the moment his back was turned on them. What his invasion was chiefly characterized by was its unmitigated barbarity. The ravages and massacres he committed, the barbarous treatment the people suffered from him in many places, exhibit his character in the worst light. But the Indians had mainly themselves to blame for what they suffered. Alexander would probably never have been able to make any impression against them if they had united their forces to resist him.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEQUEL OF ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

B.C. 323 TO 310.

NANDA, the king of Magadha and the Práchi, was killed by his minister, Sákátara, who had an intrigue with one of his wives named Mura. He was succeeded by his nine sons by his first wife, Ratnávati, all of whom are also called Nandas by some authorities, and by others Sumályadicas; but Chandragupta, the son of Mura, who had always an eye to the throne, and who in his youth had proceeded to Alexander's camp with a view to induce him to push on his conquests to the Ganges, applied to Parvateswara, king of Nepál, for assistance against his step-brothers, and opposed the rule of the Sumályadicas with a formidable army consisting of Nepálese, Greeks, and Scythians. The army of the Sumályadicas, though equally large, was defeated after a great battle which ended with dreadful carnage. All the Sumályadicas being destroyed in this engagement, Chandragupta was firmly established on the throne, and in the true spirit of a Bengali turned round upon his allies as soon as he was able to do so, and drove them away. The king of Nepál, who had been promised one half of the kingdom of Magadha, being unable to enforce his claim, returned to his mountains meditating vengeance, but was soon after murdered by an assassin whom he himself had engaged to destroy Chandragupta. The Scythians were also sent back; but they did not resent this, as they led a predatory life and returned home loaded with booty. The Greeks, or Javanas, were the only foreigners retained by Chandragupta in his service. He kept them to overawe his native enemies, till he could conciliate their favour; but he did not the less oppose the

establishment of any permanent footing in India by the Greeks. To this end he subsequently collected a large native army, with which he drove out the Greek garrisons from all the fortresses occupied by them, and thus finally delivered the country from the Macedonian yoke.

This was the state of India when Seleucus Nicator, who succeeded Alexander as king of Persia, endeavoured to emulate his conquests, and appeared with an immense army on the banks of the Indus. His ardour was considerably cooled when he learnt that the army of Chandragupta was much larger than his own, numbering six hundred-thousand men and a prodigious train of elephants; and that with this force he was advancing to give him battle. At this moment also, he received tidings of the successes of Antigonus in Lesser Asia, which filled his mind with rage and jealousy; and, considering it imprudent to risk a defeat in India, he patched up a peace with Chandragupta by giving him a daughter, probably an illegitimate child born in Persia, to wife; while his satisfied son-in-law agreed on his part to furnish five hundred elephants to Seleucus in his war against Antigonus. The real subverter of the power of Alexander in the East was thus Chandragupta, though the subversion was effected without a contest, beyond what was unavoidable in regaining possession of the forts which the Macedonians had occupied.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WARS OF VIKRAMÁDITYA AND SALIVÁHANA.

B.C. 56 TO A.D. I.

"VIKRAMÁDITYA," says Elphinstone, "is the Haroun al Rashid of Hindu tales; and, by drawing freely from such sources, Wilford collected such a mass of traditions as required the supposition of no less than eight Vikramádityas to reconcile their dates." Our present reference is to the Vikramáditya after whom the Samvat era, which commences with B.C. 56, is dated. The story regarding him is that, like Rávana and others, he made a desperate *tapasya* in order to obtain power and a long life, and that he obtained both as a boon from Káli. His greatest service to India was indicated by the resolute stand he made against the inroads of the Scythians, which acquired for him the name of Sákári, or Sákádwisha, the conqueror or foe of the Sákás, several tribes of whom surrendered to him at discretion, while many others were exterminated. As the Sákás at this time held a fabulous character, all the stories about their conqueror are equally wild and extravagant. His power, we are told, was so great that it extended even over the genii and demons, by whom the uncouth raiders from Central Asia are apparently meant. He chastised Vatáldeva, the king of the devils (*i.e.*, Tartars), and made him his slave, in which capacity Vetála relates the twenty-five curious stories so well-known to all oriental scholars by the name of *Vetála-panchabingsati*. His principal conquests comprised *Dakshinápatha* or the Deccan, *Madhyadesa* or Hindustán Proper, Cashmere, and *Surusthra* or Surát. He is also said to have held the countries to the east of the Ganges in subordination, and to have extended his influence even to Ceylon.

The principal event of Vikramáditya's reign was the last, or his quarrel with Saliváhana, who headed an insurrection from the Deccan. Saliváhana is reputed to have been the son of a carpenter of the Takshak, or serpent race, that is, a Scythian by birth; also, that he was virgin-born, or a bastard. He was apparently the greatest of the Scythian kings then in India, who turned round to attack Vikramáditya from the south when he found him determined to oppose the further accession of Scythic blood into the country. The battle between them was fought at or about the commencement of the Christian era, when both Vikramáditya and his general Vikramsakti were slain. The darkest period of Indian history follows this era, during which the Sákás, no longer kept back by a strong hand, seem to have gradually spread themselves over the best part of the peninsula, in distinct bands or clans which appropriated distinct names to themselves. Among these may be counted the four primitive races that settled in Rájasthán, namely, the Pariháras, the Promáras, the Solánkas or Chálukyas, and the Choháns, the first of whom settled in Márwár, the second in Málwá, the third in Guzerát, and the fourth in and about Delhi. Besides these were the Grahilotes of Mewár, the Játs of Jessulmere, the Kachwáhás of Jodpore, the Ráhtores of Kanouj, and all the other tribes that cut a distinguished figure in the subsequent annals of India. They all claim descent from the old families of Ráma and Krishna; but their affinity with the Scythians seems to be less doubtful.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARAB INVASIONS.

A.D. 642 TO 834.

THE era of Mahomet's birth witnessed two Persian invasions of India, of which the first was undertaken by Noshirwán the Just, against Pratápa, the ráját of Kanouj, for the exaction of a tribute said to have been agreed upon previously between Básdeo of Kanouj and his son-in-law Bahrám Gor, during the latter's travelling expedition through the country. The next, was an attack conducted by Noshized, the son of Noshirwán, against Balabhipore in Surát, the original seat of the Oodypore family, who were driven from it and the city destroyed. The accounts given of these invasions rest, however, on very doubtful authority, nor were they of any particular importance. We pass on therefore, after this running allusion to them, to the Arab invasions by which they were followed.

The invasions of the Arabs commenced within half a century of the Hegirá, and were almost simultaneously directed against Kabool, Kandahár, and Scinde, all of which were at that period regarded as Indian territory. The first attack was undertaken by Abdooláh, governor of Irák, on the part of Kaliph Osmán, in A.D. 642. His orders were to explore the passage to India, and in pursuance of them he subdued the country between Zaranj and Kish, and also that between Arachosiá and Dáwár, in the last of which he attacked the idolaters in the mountains of Zur, and obtained from them a large booty, including an idol of gold which had eyes of rubies.

In 663, an eminent commander named Mahálib, with an army consisting chiefly of the tribe of Azd, penetrated in the direction of Bánu and Láhore. Ferishtá regards

this as the first Arab invasion of India. Mahálib plundered the country about Mooltán, and made many prisoners. He is said to have also made twelve thousand converts before he retired.

About the same time another chief, named Abbád, made an incursion on the Indian frontier by way of Siestán. He moved through Rudbar to Helmund, and, after staying at Kish, crossed the desert and reached Kandahár. This expedition was successful so far as conquest of territory was concerned; but a great many of the invaders were killed.

Under the Kaliphat of Muawiyáh, Abdoor Rahmán, a young Arab general, penetrated into Kabool and conquered the adjacent countries, whereupon the king of Kabool called upon his neighbours to assist him, and the Arabs were driven out. Subsequently, however, another Arab army appeared before Kabool, and forced the king to submit and pay tribute; and the many efforts which were afterwards made by the Kaboolese to recover their independence were invariably defeated.

One of the most violent of these efforts was made by Ranbál, or Rattan Pál, the king of Kabool, in 697, when Abdooláh was governor of Siestán. Abdooláh turned out at once to enforce payment of the tribute on its being refused, and also to subjugate the country which had revolted. But Ranbál, retiring before his assailants, detached troops to their rear, and, blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat; upon which Abdooláh, exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of a large ransom.

This reverse was avenged in 700, by Abdoor Rahmán, who had intermediately become governor of Khorássán, and who marched again into Kabool, this time at the head of forty thousand men, reconquered the greater part of the country, and retired from it with a large booty. The Kaliph, however, was displeased with him for not remaining on the frontier to secure his conquest; and this compelled

him to rebel against him, and, failing in his rebellion, to seek the protection of Rattan Pál, by whom he was betrayed, upon which he destroyed his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice.

Intermediately, in 685, Mánick Rái, the rájáh of Ajmere and Sámbhur, was attacked in his capital by an Arab army, which crossed the desert from Scinde, to revenge, it is said, the ill-treatment of an Islámite missionary, named Rooshun Áli, whose thumbs had been cut off by the Hindus. The invading force came disguised as a caravan of horse-merchants, and surprised and took possession of Gurh Beetli, the citadel of Ajmere, Doolá Rái, the brother of Mánick Rái, and Lot Deo, the son of Doolá Rái, being slain.

The most important of the Arab invasions was the next, undertaken in 713, by Mahomed Ben Kásim, the general of Kaliph Wálid, who conquered the whole of Scinde, and penetrated even to the Ganges. The way for this conquest had been prepared by several previous incursions in the same direction. The port of Bussoráh was built at the mouth of the Tigris, during the Kaliphat of Omár, chiefly to secure the trade of Guzerát and Scinde, and a powerful army was sent by the Kaliph to Scinde under the command of Abool Áziz, who was killed in battle before Alore. Kaliph Osmán, who succeeded Omár, also collected a large army to prosecute the work left unfinished by his predecessor; but his intention was never carried into effect. Better progress was made by the generals of Kaliph Áli, who made some conquests in Scinde, which, however, were abandoned on Áli's death; and Yezed, the governor of Khorássán, also made several attempts in the same direction, but without any lasting results. Finally Kaliph Wálid was provoked to make up for lost time on being informed of the seizure of an Arab ship by the Hindus at Dewal, a seaport of Scinde. The restitution of the ship was first demanded at the head of a small force of thirteen hundred men, and being refused and the detachment defeated, a regular army of six thousand Arabs wa

sent under Kásim to enforce it. The first place captured was Dewal itself, after which the strongholds of Brámanábád, Nerun, Sehwán, and Sálim were successively reduced. Finally, Kásim appeared before Alore, where Abool Áziz had been slain. The army under him had now been raised to eight thousand men, but that commanded by Rájáh Dáhir was, or at least is reported by the Mahomedan authors to have been, fifty thousand strong. Kásim chose, therefore, a strong position for himself, and there awaited the attack of the Hindus. In the action which followed he was particularly favoured by fortune, the Hindu chief being wounded during the heat of the attack and carried off from the field by the elephant he rode, which so dispirited his followers that they were easily defeated, notwithstanding the return of the rájáh and his desperate attempts to rally them. Dáhir Despati fell fighting bravely in the midst of the Arab cavalry. His widow made a strong defence of the citadel, but failing to retain it, burnt herself to death in the usual Rájpoot style, while her followers rushed sword in hand on the enemy and perished to a man. The whole of Scinde was then conquered by the Arabs, and all the adjoining states, even up to the Ganges, were made tributary; but the further conquests contemplated by them were suddenly, in a strange manner, cut short. Among the spoils of victory sent to the Kaliph were two daughters of Dáhir, who, to revenge their father's death, represented falsely to Wálid that they had been violated by Kásim before being sent to him, and were therefore unworthy of his notice. This so enraged the Kaliph that he gave orders for Kásim's destruction, which were promptly carried out; and the advance of the Arabs in that direction ceased with the life of their chief.

The efforts in the direction of Kabool were still continued. In 725, under the Kaliphat of Háshem, a part of that kingdom was again taken; the conquest of the whole of it being afterwards completed by Almáman, governor of Khorássán, when the king of Kabool was converted to

Islámism. Subsequently, however, Kabool appears to have been repossessed by Hindu kings, for in the days of Subaktágin the authority of the kings of Láhore are stated to have extended over both Kabool and Kandahár.

Fifty years after the acquisition of Kabool, the Arabs were seen in another direction, Kaliph Al Mahdi having, in 776, despatched an army by sea under Abdool Màlik, which embarked at Barodá and besieged it. The people of the place defended themselves vigorously, notwithstanding which the town was reduced. But the sea rose against the invaders, and they were obliged to wait a long time before they could attempt to return; and, after they did so, the winds arose again when they had all but reached the coast of Persia, where many of their vessels were wrecked: and while some escaped, many were drowned.

The only other expedition that requires to be here noticed was that sent out in 834, by Kaliph Al Mutásim, under the command of Asaph Ben Isá, against the Játs, who had seized upon certain roads which cut off the Arabs settled in India from the coast, and had also plundered the corn which they had stacked for their use. The attack of the invaders was continued for twenty-five days, and the Játs being defeated, a great many of them were taken prisoners, while the rest were compelled to ask for quarter. After this, the sword of conquest and conversion was temporarily withdrawn from Hindustán, the Arabs being too desperately engaged with the Christians in the west to think much of India. We, accordingly, do not read of any further Mahomedan invasions till Subaktágin, the governor of Khorássán, had hoisted the standard of independent sovereignty in Ghazni.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF SUBAKTÁGIN.

A.D. 967 TO 997.

SUBAKTÁGIN was a soldier of fortune, who acquired the throne of Ghazni by marrying the daughter of the previous ruler, Abistágin or Alptágin, under whom he had commenced service as a private dragoon. As this claim, however, was not fully recognised by the turbulent Afgháns, he determined to divert their attention from his personal pretensions by keeping them actively engaged abroad, and under the pretext of religion commenced a destructive war with his neighbours, the Hindus. He not only ravaged the frontiers of India, but captured many of its hill-forts and cities, which forced Jaipál, the Tuár king of Delhi and Láhore, whose empire included Kabool and Kandahár, to think of reprisals. A large army was accordingly led by Jaipál into Lamghán, at the mouth of the valley extending from Peshawár to Kabool, where it was met by Subaktágin; and a desultory warfare was carried on between the two parties for several days. On the eve of a general engagement, the armies on both sides were overtaken by a tremendous hurricane accompanied by thunder, lightning, and rain, upon which great fear fell upon the Hindus, who, unaccustomed to the coldness of the place, regarded the fury of the elements as an interposition of Providence against them, which induced Jaipál to send a deputation to Subaktágin to solicit peace. To this Subaktágin reluctantly consented, the terms proposed by him being the payment of a million dirhems and the present of fifty elephants, together with the surrender of certain forts and cities on

the frontier. These conditions were so exorbitant that Jaipál considered himself justified in meeting extortion with perfidy, and he refused to complete the agreement the moment he saw the backs of the Afgháns turned upon India. He had sent hostages to Subaktágin in acceptance of his proposals, and Subaktágin on his part had sent him some of his chief officers to take possession of the fortresses and towns to be ceded. These latter were detained as prisoners by Jaipál against the return of the hostages he had given; and this made Subaktágin particularly indignant.

The result was a second invasion of India by Subaktágin, at the head of seventy thousand horse, the opening attack being directed against the city of Lamghán, which was captured. Several other cities also were successively reduced, and many idol temples demolished, which made the Hindu rájáhs unite against the common enemy. The Mahomedan authors say that the ruler of Láhore and Delhi was confederated with the rulers of Ajmere, Kalinjar, and Kanouj, and that their united forces amounted to one hundred-thousand horse and two hundred-thousand foot. They add that Subaktágin regarded these vast numbers as but a flock of sheep, and felt like a wolf in attacking them. He divided his army into small squadrons of five hundred men each, and ordered them to attack the enemy with maces in their hands, relieving each other in succession as they got tired, whereby fresh men and horses were perpetually brought in contact with the Hindus. This so harassed the latter that they soon began to waver, when Subaktágin ordered a general assault which completed their defeat, and forced a precipitate flight towards the banks of the Niláb. A considerable number of the fugitives were cut to pieces; the jungles were filled with the bodies of the dead, some wounded by swords, and others fallen dead through fright: still greater numbers perished in attempting the passage of the river. The plunder of the Indian camp was excessively rich, besides which heavy contribu-

tions were realized by the Afgháns from all the surrounding districts. Jaipál was now content to submit, and agreed to pay tribute, besides making a present of two hundred elephants to the conqueror. Subaktágin also took direct possession of the country up to the Indus, and left an Afghán governor at Peshawár.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INVASIONS OF MÁHMOOD OF GHAZNI.

A.D. 1000 TO 1027.

MÁHMOOD, the son of Subaktágin, made seventeen expeditions into India, not so much for the purposes of conquest, as for the suppression of idolatry and for plunder. He is said to have made a vow to Heaven on his accession to the throne of Ghazni that, if his own dominions were blessed with tranquillity, he would follow his father's example and try to extirpate idolatry from India. The time for giving effect to this vow arrived when Ishmail, his brother, who had disputed his succession, was defeated and made prisoner; and he fully vindicated his promise by raising a succession of storms and tumults in India which desolated her peaceful plains. The number of his expeditions is usually taken at twelve; but particulars are given of not less than the number we have mentioned at the outset.

The first expedition of Máhmood was undertaken in A.D. 1000, when many of the frontier forts and provinces, which had before been taken by Subaktágin, were reoccupied, which was followed by the Mahomedan government being established in them. No detailed accounts of this expedition are extant; but it is said that near the Lamghán valley two actions were fought, both of which were miraculously decided in favour of the Mahomedans.

The second expedition was undertaken in 1001-2, when Máhmood entered India at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and was met at Peshawár by Jaipál, his father's opponent, with twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and three hundred elephants. An obstinate battle was terminated by the defeat of the Hindu king, who was taken prisoner with fifteen of his chiefs and relatives, after a loss

of five thousand men. Among the plunder taken was a necklace snatched from the neck of Jaipál, which was valued at 320,000*l*. The next move of the invader was to Bihand, or Waihand, a strong fort about fifteen miles distant from Attock, which was reduced. But, unwilling to go further on this occasion, he here released all his prisoners on receipt of a large ransom and after stipulating for the payment of an annual tribute. He then went back to Ghazni, while Jaipál, being ashamed to survive his overthrow, burnt himself to death, and was succeeded by his son, Anang Pál, on the throne.

The third expedition of Máhmood was undertaken in 1004-5, in consequence of the alleged non-payment of the tribute above stipulated for. The first attack was on Bherá, on the left bank of the Jhelum, the capital of a powerful prince of the Punjáb, named Biji Rái, who drew out his troops to receive him, and fought on equal terms for three days and nights. On the fourth day a great battle was fought, when Máhmood, turning his face towards the holy Caabá, invoked the aid of the Prophet in the presence of his army. Biji Rái, on his part, also invoked the aid of his gods; but the superstitious fervour of the Mahomedans was greater than that of the Hindus, and the latter were therefore obliged to give ground, being pursued even to the gates of their capital, which was invested. Biji Rái was able to escape from this place; but, being pursued by his enemies and deserted by his friends, he turned his sword against his own breast to avoid being captured. A great slaughter followed, and Bherá being taken was plundered, and yielded a rich booty.

In the following year (1005-6) Máhmood invaded Mooltán, the king of which, Dáood, an Afghán, was not to his liking, as he was supposed to have seditious designs in his heart, the best proof of which was his indifference in making proselytes. The way of Máhmood to Mooltán lay through the territories of Anang Pál, who, refusing him passage, met him with an army at Peshawár, but was defeated and compelled to fly for refuge to Cashmere.

Mooltán was now entered by the invader by the way of Bherá; but Dáood, surrendering himself and soliciting to be pardoned, was received into favour as he was a Mahomedan. A fine of twenty million dirhems had, however, to be paid by the people, who were Hindus, and a tribute of twenty thousand dinárs annually was fixed on Dáood; after which Máhmood hastened back to Ghazni on hearing that the king of Káshgar had invaded it, leaving the settlement of other affairs in India in the hands of Záb Sais, a converted Hindu, better known by his original name of Sookpál.

The bad faith of Sookpál, who threw off his allegiance when he thought he could do so with impunity, gave occasion to Máhmood's fifth invasion of India, in 1007, that is, after he had settled the affairs of his own country. But nothing was done this time beyond defeating Sookpál and carrying him off as a prisoner, after extorting from him a fine of four hundred-thousand dirhems.

Máhmood's sixth expedition was undertaken in 1008-9, and was at first directed only against Anang Pál, who had been raising disturbances in Mooltán. But Anang Pál appealing to his brother Hindu princes for assistance, and offering to make common cause against the Mahomedans, a confederacy was formed by the rulers of Oujein, Gwálior, Kalinjar, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmere, who collected all their forces together to give battle to the invader. The opposing armies met near the confines of Peshawár, but for forty days remained inactive, watching each other. The Hindus were intermediately joined by the Gickers and other mountain tribes, and thus strengthened, began to surround the Mahomedans, who, fearing a general assault, intrenched themselves. Within these intrenchments they were attacked by the Gickers, and five thousand of them were slain. In the action that followed, Máhmood is said to have used naphtha-balls, which so frightened the elephant of Anang Pál that it became ungovernable and fled, disconcerting the whole Hindu army and causing a general rout. The flying Hindus were pursued for two days and nights,

and eight thousand of them were killed. Máhmood then marched down to Nágrákote, now known as Kote-kangrá, breaking down idols and subverting temples. The fort of Bheemnugger, which protected the district, was invested, and the country around it was destroyed with fire and sword. Inside the fort, which was considered to be of great strength, a large amount of wealth had been concealed, all of which fell into the hands of the invader on its being reduced. Ferishtá describes the plunder as consisting of seven hundred-thousand golden dinárs, seven hundred maunds of gold and silver plate, forty maunds of gold ingots, two thousand maunds of silver bullion, and twenty maunds of jewels set.

The seventh invasion, undertaken in 1010, was for the conquest of Nárdain, by which Anhalwárá, the capital of Guzerát, is understood to be meant. This was probably a preparative expedition towards Somnáth. The result of it is not very clearly stated, but must have been successful, since it caused such alarm in Anang Pál as induced him to offer submission and the payment of a tribute of fifty elephants annually to the Afghán, besides the supply of a hireling Indian force of two thousand men.

The eighth invasion by Máhmood, in 1011, was directed against Mooltán, which had again revolted. The place was soon reduced, many of its chiefs were killed, and the son of the governor was carried off to Ghazni, as hostage for his father's future good faith.

The ninth invasion is dated 1013. It had reached the ears of Máhmood that Tánnessur, a place near Delhi, was held by the Hindus in as much veneration as Meccá itself was by the Mahomedans, and that they had there set up a large number of rich idols, of which the chief was Jugsoom. He resolved thereupon to destroy the idols. As there was peace between him and Anang Pál who had submitted to him, the rájáh ventured to expostulate with him for the preservation of the place, offering on behalf of the ruler of Delhi, to whom it belonged, the tribute of the country annually, and fifty elephants and jewels as a present.

But the bigot would accept no compromise, and sent for reply that it was his firm resolution to root out idolatry from the land, naïvely asking—"Why then should Tánnessur be spared?" On receipt of this answer the ráják of Delhi attempted to induce the other Hindu princes to join him in opposing the assailant. But before any combination could be formed he was attacked and defeated by Máhmood, and Tánnessur reduced and plundered, the idols being all broken, and Jugsoom sent off to Ghazni, to be thrown on the highway that it might be trampled over by the faithful. The booty secured was very large, and included a ruby of fabulous size. Máhmood then wanted to reduce Delhi, but was dissuaded from the attempt on its being represented to him that it would not be possible to keep possession of the place till all the country between Delhi and his own dominions was thoroughly subdued. Assenting to this representation he retired with his plunder to Ghazni.

In 1014, Máhmood attacked the fort of Nindooná, situated on the mountains of Balnát, which was in the possession of the king of Láhore. Anang Pál had died intermediately and had been succeeded by Pur Jaipál, or Jaipál II., who was defeated at the Márgálá Pass, and retreated to Cashmere. Máhmood then invested Nindooná in regular form, and by mining and other processes compelled the garrison to capitulate. He afterwards pursued Jaipál to the hills; but, failing to get at him, plundered Cashmere, forcibly converting the people to Mahomedanism.

In 1015, Máhmood made a fresh attempt to penetrate the higher fastnesses of Cashmere, and besieged several forts not previously reduced. One of them, however, named Lohkote, which was famous for its high position and strength, defied his utmost efforts, upon which he returned to Ghazni in disgust. On the way he was led astray by his guides, and fell into an extensive morass covered with water, from which he could not for several days extricate his army. This chagrined him so much that he swore that he would have nothing more to do with the

horrid country of the idolaters; but, like a good Mahomedan, he did not allow himself to be long held down by such a renegade oath.

The twelfth expedition was undertaken in 1018, and was on a very large scale. A hundred-thousand horse and thirty thousand foot had been raised by him in the warlike countries of Turkestán, Maverulnere, and Khorássán, and he determined with these to lay siege to Kanouj, at this time one of the most important cities in India, which, situated in the heart of the country, had not yet been approached. The route followed has been much disputed. It would appear that he passed by the borders of Cashmere, that is, close under the Sub-Himálayan range, and, crossing the Jumná, invaded Báran, the modern Bolundshahar, then belonging to Ráják Hardat, which capitulated at once, the ráják agreeing to pay Rs. 2,50,000 and thirty elephants as a present. He then passed on to Mahában, another strong place on the Jumná, which was also invested. The prince, Kálchund, offered to submit, and came out for that purpose, when a quarrel was got up for the sake of plunder, upon which Kálchund killed himself, which placed much rich spoil in the hands of the invader, including seventy elephants. He proceeded next to Mathoorá, which was entered without much opposition, and where all the idols were broken down or melted, which brought him an immense quantity of gold and silver. He intended to break down the temples also, but was dissuaded from the sacrilege by the beauty and structure of the edifices, even bigotry acknowledging the influence of taste. Among the plunder taken were five big idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies, one idol of sapphire, besides a large number of silver idols which loaded a hundred camels. The Mahomedans did indeed find India a country of fabulous wealth: alas, that similar luck was not reserved for their successors! For twenty days the bigoted barbarian sacked the city with fire and sword, and then marched on to other forts and districts to reduce them. Recrossing the Jumná he now suddenly

appeared before Kanouj; so suddenly that Korrá, the king, was entirely taken by surprise, and, having made no preparations for resistance, was obliged to submit without a contest, and sue for peace. This was granted to him, but, some relate, only on his agreeing to become a Mahomedan. The victor then proceeded to Munj, or Munjháwan, a strong fort which made a spirited resistance, and the garrison of which, consisting entirely of Kanoujiá Bráhmans, rushed through the breaches when the place became untenable, and flung themselves right upon the enemy to certain destruction, or burnt themselves to death along with their wives and children, not one surviving their defeat. The fort of Ásni, belonging to Chánd Pál, was next taken, but after it had been evacuated, Máhmood getting, however, what he wanted—a large plunder. From Chánd Rái, a prince who fled to the Bundelkund hills, an enormous elephant of great docility and courage was obtained; after which, loaded with spoils, the victor went back to his mountain-home. The sum total of his booty in this expedition amounted to twenty million dirhems, fifty-three thousand captives, and three hundred and fifty elephants.

The thirteenth expedition, in 1021, was again directed towards Kanouj, the princes of the country adjoining which had fallen upon Korrá for having entered into an alliance with the invader. Máhmood was, however, not able to arrive in time to save Korrá, who was attacked by Nanda, the rájáh of Kalinjar, and slain. All that the Afghán could do was to pursue Nanda to his own frontiers, where he received Máhmood at the head of thirty-six thousand horse, forty-five thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty elephants. But Máhmood succeeded in defeating him, and Nanda was barely able to escape from the field; which secured to the victor a large plunder, including five hundred and eighty elephants.

The next expedition was, in 1023, directed against two frontier countries named Kirát and Noor, which had refused to accept Mahomedanism in preference to Buddhism which

they professed. Kirát, unable to contend with the invader, received the prophet's faith; but Noor still would not, and was overrun and pillaged, and the temples destroyed. Máhmood went thence to Láhore, after a second vain attempt to capture the fortress of Lohkote, in Cashmere. As Jaipál had obstructed the invader's march to Kanouj, Láhore was now given up to be sacked, and was then formally annexed to Ghazni, Jaipál flying to Ajmere for security.

In 1024, Máhmood undertook a fresh expedition against Nanda, the king of Kalinjar. In passing by the fort of Gwálior he wished to take it, but was bought off by rich presents; after which Kalinjar was invested. To get the siege raised Nanda offered three hundred elephants and other presents; but, upon the terms being agreed to, he intoxicated the animals with drugs and let them loose without drivers against the Mahomedan camp. The desire to intimidate the invaders was, however, unsuccessful: the Afgháns and Turks mounted the animals and reduced them to obedience; upon which Nanda again made his peace by other large presents and a flattering epistle, with the latter of which the Afghán king was so well pleased that he conferred on Nanda the government of fifteen forts.

The sixteenth invasion of Máhmood was undertaken in 1026, and was directed against the temple of Somnáth, in Guzerát, which was said to be very rich and greatly respected by the Hindus. He collected an army of thirty-thousand horse, besides volunteers who flocked in large numbers, and, marching through Mooltán, was first opposed on the banks of the Sutledge by Gogá Chohán, who held the whole of *Junguldes*, or the forest-lands from the Sutledge to Hurriánáb, and came out to oppose him, accompanied by forty-five sons and sixty nephews. The opposition, however, was fruitless, all the family of Gogá being slain, after which Máhmood proceeded on to Ajmere, crossing the desert. He attacked Gurh Beetli, but was repulsed from it, retreating to Nadole, which he sacked. He afterwards captured Anhalwárá, which he found deserted,

and to which he did as much mischief as could be done by fire and sword. When Somnáth was reached he discovered it to be a lofty castle situated on a narrow peninsula washed on three sides by the sea. The people were found in high spirits, expecting a miraculous interposition on the part of their deity and the entire destruction of the invading army. But the god was singularly cold-hearted, and declined to interfere; and the Hindus, after a violent defence, in which two of their princes, named Byrám Deo and Dabshilima, particularly distinguished themselves, were obliged to submit. An attempt at flight by sea was made by some; but their boats were overtaken and many of them sunk. Máhmood then entered the temple, and was enraged at the sight of the idol, a *Lingam* of stone five yards high. He is said to have struck the block with his mace, after which it was ordered to be broken into two and the parts sent to Ghazni, one to be placed at the threshold of the Jami Musjeed and the other at the court of the king's palace, that they might be trodden over daily by the loyal and the devout. The gates of the temple were at the same time removed to Ghazni, to be brought back again to India by another zealot after the Afghán war! In the hollow of the *Lingam* a large quantity of diamonds, rubies, and pearls were found, to reward the cupidity of the victor when he was just beginning to regret that he had not accepted the offer of the Bráhmans to ransom their god for a large sum of money. Among the other spoils was a chain of gold weighing forty maunds, which hung from the top of the temple and supported a large bell. One Mahomedan historian gravely records that no light was kept in the temple besides a pendent lamp, the rays of which, reflected from the jewels all round, spread a brilliant refulgence over the whole place. The princes who had endeavoured to defend the place—Byrám Deo and Dabshilima—were next hunted down by the vindictive Afghán, the fort of Náhrwárá, belonging to the first, being carried by assault. The second also was vanquished, and is said to have been carried a prisoner to Ghazni, the government of Guzerát being

intrusted to another Dabshilima, a Bráhman. It is more probable, however, that the Bráhman and the prince were one and the same person, who by subsequent submission found favour in the eyes of the victor.

The last of Máhmood's invasions was undertaken in 1027, and was directed against the Játs, who had insulted him and molested his army on his way back from Somnáth. This people inhabited the country on the borders of Mooltán, near the banks of the Jhelum. To approach them with greater facility Máhmood ordered fourteen hundred boats to be built, each of which was armed with three firm iron pikes and boarded by twenty archers, besides five others who carried inflammable and explosive missiles to burn the craft of the Játs. The conflict was deadly. All the Ját boats were set on fire, or set fire to each other. Very few of the invaded people were able to escape death, and of such as did so most were taken prisoners.

At the time of Máhmood's invasions, the four primary states of India were: (1) Delhi, under the Tuárs and Choháns, (2) Kanouj, under the Ráhtores, (3) Mewár, under the Ghelots, and (4) Anhalwárá, under the Chaurás and Solánkas. All these states were at war with each other. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Mahomedans were able so easily to vanquish the Hindus.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INVASIONS OF MAHOMED GHORI, AND THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY THE MAHOMEDANS.

A.D. 1176 TO 1204.

THE house of Ghazni was overturned by that of Ghor, after which Mahomed, the brother of Yeásuludeen, the Ghorian prince, undertook the subjugation of India.

His first invasion was in 1176, when the provinces of Peshawár, Mooltán, and Scinde were overrun. He then advanced to Adjá, the prince of which shut himself up in a strong fort which was besieged. Finding it very difficult to reduce the place, Mahomed opened secret negotiations with the rájáh's wife, promising to marry her if she made away with her husband and delivered up the fort. The ránee promised to comply, provided Mahomed agreed to appoint her to the government of the country, and to marry her daughter instead of herself, as she was already past the age for a second union to be desirable to her. The baseness on both sides being equal the modified proposal was accepted, upon which the king of Adjá was killed by his wife and his fortress surrendered. Mahomed married the daughter of the rájáh as he had promised, but she died of a broken heart. Her mother, instead of being left in charge of the country, as she had bargained for, was sent a prisoner to Ghazni.

In 1178, Mahomed re-invaded India, and, proceeding through Mooltán and Adjá, passed into Guzerát, the king of which, Bheem Deo, advanced with a large army to give him battle. In this action Mahomed was defeated with great slaughter, and suffered many hardships on his way back to Ghazni through the desert.

In 1179, he reattacked Peshawár and conquered it; and

in the year following proceeded towards Láhore, which was held by Chusero, the last of the Ghaznian kings, who bought him off with presents, sending his son as a hostage for good faith. Chusero does not appear, however, to have acted loyally, and Láhore was therefore reinvested in 1184, when it was able to withstand a long siege. A third attack was made on it two years after, and succeeded fully from deceit and stratagem. Finding that the city held out so obstinately, Mahomed proposed to accommodate differences by a peace, and to lull Chusero to a belief in his professions, sent back his son with a splendid retinue. This drew out Chusero from the fort to meet him; whereupon Mahomed cut him off from his stronghold, the possession of which was demanded as a condition of Chusero's release. The city was thus obliged to throw open its gates to the invader, and the last refuge of the house of Ghazni was taken; while Chusero and his family, instead of being released, were sent as prisoners to a fort in Ghirgistán, and there put to death.

In 1190-1, Mahomed penetrated again into India, and further than he had ever done before, proceeding to Ajmere, where he took the capital of Tiberhind. He was already on his way back when he heard that Prithu Rái, the king of Ajmere, and Chánd Rái, his brother and viceroy in Delhi, in alliance with other Hindu princes, were in pursuit of him with two hundred-thousand horse and three thousand elephants. Mahomed went back to give them battle, which was fought at Tirouri, on the banks of the Seraswati, fourteen miles from Tánnessur. At the first onset his right and left wings were broken, and, being outflanked, his army was entirely surrounded, while he busied himself vainly in attempting to break the centre of the enemy. In this situation he defended himself with great courage; but, Chánd Rái having succeeded in wounding him, the whole of his army was routed, and he was himself rescued with great difficulty, the Hindus running after him forty miles in pursuit, till he found safety in Láhore, where he got cured of his wounds.

To avenge this defeat Mahomed recruited a fresh army of one hundred-thousand horsemen, picked out of Turks, Persians, and Afgháns, and returned to India in 1192. "Since my defeat in India," said he, "I have never slumbered in ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined with this army to recover my lost honour or die in the attempt." He now called forth the *omráhs* who had deserted him on the last occasion and whom he had placed under confinement, and told them that he gave them one further opportunity to wipe out their disgrace. Prithu Rái, on his part, was not slow in making preparations to resist the invader. The Mahomedan authors, who always give the Hindus the credit of superior numbers on the field to enhance the value of the victories won by their co-religionists, assert that Prithu was assisted by one hundred and fifty confederate princes, and brought together an army of three hundred-thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and a great body of infantry. The action was fought on the banks of the Seraswati, nearly on the same spot where his former victory was won. The Indian princes, elated with their previous success, anticipated an easy conquest again; while Mahomed to gain time affected to be doubtful of his position, and gave out that he had written to his brother, the king of Ghor, to ask if the war was to be pursued. This pretence of indecision threw the Hindus off their guard, and enabled Mahomed to surprise them in the midst of their festivities. They were nevertheless able to form in line to oppose him, and gave him a warmer reception than he had anticipated; till, becoming lulled by a certainty of victory, they began to flag in their exertions, when Mahomed made a sudden and resolute charge on them at the head of a chosen reserve of twelve thousand horse, and breaking through their ranks, scattered them in dismay. Chánd Rái was killed, and Prithu Rái taken prisoner and afterwards put to death. The plunder was immensely rich, and the forts of Seraswati, Samana, Koram, and Hánsi surrendered of themselves. Ajmere was also taken, the inhabitants being butchered in cold blood or sold to slavery;

but, upon promise of the payment of a large tribute, the government of the country was given up to Golá, the son of Prithu, while Kuttubudeen Ibek, one of the slaves of Mahomed, was left at Koram with a considerable detachment. Kuttub was shortly after able to capture the fort of Meerut and the city of Delhi, and this gave rise to the assertion that the empire of Delhi was founded by a slave.

In 1194, Mahomed again invaded India with an army of fifty thousand horse, to attack Jayachánd, king of Kanouj and Benáres, who opposed him at the head of a stronger army that included four hundred fighting-elephants. The battle was fought on the banks of the Jumná, at a place midway between Chundwár and Etáwáh, where Jayachánd was defeated, mainly by Kuttub, and flying whence he got drowned in crossing the Ganges. The fort of Ásni was next taken, where property in gold, silver, and precious stones was found to a considerable amount. Mahomed then proceeded to Benáres, where he broke down the idols in above one thousand temples, and collected an immense plunder. Kuttub at the same time, operating in other directions, first defeated Hemráj, a relative of Prithu Rái of Ajmere, and then, marching against Bheem Deo of Guzerát, destroyed his army and plundered his country. All the great kingdoms of India were thus simultaneously overthrown.

The secret history of India shows that these disasters were mainly brought upon the country by the disunion of the Hindu princes themselves. Anang Pál II., the last Tuár king of Delhi, being childless, adopted and abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Prithu Rái, king of Ajmere, the son of one of his daughters. This gave offence to Jayachánd, who was similarly related to the Tuár king, and heightened the rivalry and jealousy already subsisting between the Chohán and the Ráhtores. The ill-feeling on both sides was augmented when Jayachánd, aspiring at paramount sovereignty, undertook to perform the *Rájsuya* sacrifice, at which the presence of all dependent kings was

required, which Prithu necessarily did not attend. The disagreement was yet further complicated by a love-affair. Jayachánd, in an errant expedition to Ceylon, had captured a beautiful damsel whom he had adopted as his daughter, and whom he wanted to marry to some powerful king who would acknowledge his supremacy. The girl, however, obstinately refused to wed any one but Prithu, having heard of his valour and achievements, and, being kept under confinement for her recusancy, was released by the Chohán and carried off. The sinews of Delhi were lost by Prithu in this devoir, and his best warriors slain. Jayachánd leagued himself immediately with Mahomed Ghori to destroy Prithu; and Mahomed took advantage of their quarrels to destroy both. After the conquest of Delhi, Ajmere, and Kanouj by the Mahomedans, the son of Jayachánd, flying from the last place, founded a new Ráhtore empire in the desert of Márwár; but the Tuár and the Chohán dynasties were never able to rise again.

In 1195, Mahomed attacked and took Bianá, and directed Togril to lay siege to Gwálior, which was eventually taken; but, attempting to extend his conquests further to the south, Togril received a terrible defeat from the Rájpoots, and was forced to fly to his forts for refuge. Kuttubudeen, likewise, was hard pressed at Guzerát and Ajmere; but succeeded at last in reducing Anhalwárá with its immediate dependencies, after a severe battle fought from dawn till midday, from which Rái Karan, the ruler of the place, only fled with his life. He also succeeded in reducing the forts of Kalinjar and Kalpee in Bundelkund, which had belonged to Rái Parmár; and it is said of him that, instead of demolishing them, he converted all the temples which were taken into mosques.

Previous to this Mahomed, hitherto acting as his brother's general, was, on the demise of Yeásaludeen, called to the Ghaznian throne. His last expedition to India was undertaken in 1203, when he came to it to chastise the Gickers, who inhabited the country between the Niláb

and the Sewálik mountains, and had rebelled against him. The Gickers were defeated by a joint attack made on them by Mahomed from one side and Kuttub from another, and the carnage was so great that in their country "there remained not an inhabitant to light a fire." A band of twenty Gickers made up their minds to avenge this unnecessary and heartless slaughter, and, seeking for an opportunity, burst into the tent of Mahomed at Rimeik—some say at night, and others in the evening, when Mahomed was engaged in prayer—and assassinated him, piercing him with no less than forty wounds.

The empire left by Mahomed in India included the whole of Hindustán Proper, except Málwá and some contiguous districts. In Guzerát, the capital, Anhalwárá, and the districts adjacent to it, had been acquired; extensive conquests had also been made in the direction of Scinde; and a great part of Bengal and Behár had already submitted to Buktyár Khiliji, while the rest was being rapidly reduced.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONQUESTS OF BUKTYÁR KHILIJI.

A.D. 1199 TO 1204.

THE name of Buktyár Khiliji is known as that of the first Mahomedan conqueror of Behár and Bengal. He served under Kuttubudeen Ibek, and obtained for his activity and valour two places, named Sáhlat and Sáhli, to the east of the Oude frontier, in *jyghere*. Being a bold and enterprising man he began to make excursions into the contiguous districts of Behár and Monghyr, from which he brought away much money, and plenty of horses, arms, and men. The fame of his bravery and raids invited down a body of Khilijis from Afghánistán, who took service under him; and he led these into Behár every year to plunder it. He was at last, in 1199, placed at the head of an army especially collected for the conquest of Behár; and, succeeding in the enterprise, was made governor of the country. The fort of Behár was captured by him at the head of only two hundred horse.

Both his orders and his inclination next directed him to the conquest of Bengal, the ruler of which was Lakhmaniya, or Lakhman II., who reigned with the assistance of astrologers and Bráhmans. When the intention of the Khiliji came to be known, the astrologers and Bráhmans fled to Jagganáth, Banga, and Kámroop, and advised Lakhmaniya to do likewise; but, at that time, the ráját vindicated his valour by refusing to comply. A year after Buktyár appeared suddenly before Nuddeá, the capital of Bengal, with only eighteen horsemen at his back, and drawing his sword attacked the palace. The apprehension in the palace was that he had a large army behind him, and the ráját, who was at dinner, leaving the dishes

untouched, escaped barefooted by the back-door of his residence, and taking boat went to Jagganáth, where he died. All his wealth and women fell into the hands of the invader.

Bengal was entirely subdued in one year, and the seat of government removed to Gour; after which Buktyár declared his independence of the sovereign at Delhi. His easy success thus far emboldened him to look for further conquests in the east. With this object he marched to the banks of the Brähmapootra, whence he wished to proceed to Thibet; but a desperate opposition was here made by the natives, who fought only with bamboos and spears, and bows and arrows; and many of the Mahomedans were slain. Buktyár was yet more disheartened on becoming acquainted with the nature of the country and the difficulty of the mountain-passes by which he had expected to enter Thibet; and he therefore determined to retire. This, however, was no longer an easy matter. He was again beset by the natives at Kámroop, and approaching a river which he thought fordable, his followers threw themselves into it and were mostly drowned. Buktyár and about a hundred others swam over and escaped; but his ill-success seized him with an excess of grief, and he fell sick and died. Others say that he was murdered by one of his own officers, named Áli Murdan.

The wars of Buktyár were not actually great; but the results derived from them were of considerable importance.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WARS OF ALTÁMASH.

A.D. 1211 TO 1235.

ALTÁMASH was a Turkish slave purchased by Kuttubudeen Ibek for fifty thousand pieces of silver, and was afterwards married to his daughter. He mounted the throne of Delhi by defeating and displacing Arám, his master's son. He also defeated some of Kuttub's generals, who opposed him at the head of a strong portion of the Turkish horse, which formed the flower of the royal army.

After these successes Altámash directed his arms against Násirudeen Kabáchá, the governor of Scinde, who held the strong fort of Ránthambhor, and was anxious to become independent. The ability of Násirudeen was, however, not equal to his aspirations, and he was therefore easily subdued, the entire country governed by him submitting to the victor. Uch and Mooltán were also quickly reduced, and all the country of the Sewálik hills.

In 1225, Altámash led his army towards Bengal and Behár, which were then held by Yeásaludeen Khiliji, who was called prince of Bengal. Altámash forced him to submit to his authority, and intrusting his son Násirudeen with the government of Bengal, left that of Behár in the hands of Yeásaludeen, both being made subordinate to the throne of Delhi. Soon after, war broke out between Násirudeen and Yeásaludeen, and, the latter being defeated, the government of both the provinces was assumed by Násirudeen.

In 1232, Altámash besieged the fort of Gwálior, which in the reign of Arám had fallen into the hands of the Hindus, and was held by a chief named Deobal. The place was reduced after a siege of one year, and his way to

it being thus opened, Altámash marched towards Málwá, where he took the fort of Bhilsá and the city of Oujein. In Oujein he destroyed the magnificent temple of Máhácála, one of the twelve great *Lingams* worshipped in India; and the stone images both of Máhácála and Vikramáditya were sent to Delhi, and broken and placed at the threshold of the great mosque.

The reign of Altámash was contemporaneous with the age of Chingez Khán and the Tartar conquests. India was the only country that escaped the rage of Chingez. She was in imminent danger of being invaded by him, when he ran in pursuit of Jeláludeen, king of Khárism, who was hunted down to the banks of the Indus. But Chingez did not pass that river, while Jeláludeen swam across it and fled towards Delhi.

The victories of Altámash brought all Hindustán, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Ganges, under the sovereign rule of Delhi, though the obedience of a great portion of it was still merely nominal. They were appreciated even by the Kaliph of Bagdád, from whom Altámash received investiture in due form, which was the earliest recognition of the Indo-Mahomedan empire by the head of Islám.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WARS OF ÁLLÁUDEEN.

A.D. 1295 TO 1316.

THE reign of Álláudeen was distinguished by many victories over the Hindus, and his name in history is recognised as that of the first Mahomedan subjugator of the Deccan. He arrogated to himself the title of Sekander Sáni, or Alexander II.; and there is no doubt that his conquests were extensive and great, partaking, however, mainly of the character of predatory incursions in which nothing but plunder was really secured. No less than four invasions of Southern India were made during his reign; but the Mahomedan rule was not permanently established there till much later times.

The career of Álláudeen was commenced in 1292, when Jeláludeen Khiliji was yet on the throne. Álla, who was the emperor's nephew, son-in-law, and governor of Kurráh, requested his permission to march against the Hindus of Bhilsá, who infested his province, and, succeeding in the expedition, afforded much satisfaction to his sovereign by reason of the rich spoils he brought to him. Being henpecked at home Álláudeen naturally preferred a life of activity abroad, which carried him beyond the sphere of his wife's temper and influence. He therefore proposed again the reduction of Chinderi, from which great plunder was expected; and, on that pretext, collected an army of eight thousand horse, with which he marched to the Deccan, the conquest of which had not yet been attempted. Rám Deo, ráját of Deogiri, was the first to oppose him, but was defeated with considerable loss, after which his capital was invested. Great uneasiness was, however, felt by both parties: by Álla from a knowledge of his weakness

in numbers, which induced him to give out that the forces under him only formed the vanguard of the imperial army, the whole of which was advancing to support him; and by Rám Deo, from the conviction of his utter unpreparedness, and a belief in the emperor's proximity which boded nothing less than a general conquest of the Deccan. This made the combatants equally solicitous to come to terms; and a hasty peace was patched up and Álá bought off by the surrender of fifty maunds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, fifty elephants, and a thousand horse. Unfortunately, the son of Rám Deo had intermediately succeeded in collecting a large army, and coming forward just when Álá was preparing to depart, he intercepted his retreat by an insolent letter in which he threatened him with immediate chastisement. The battle wished for by the prince was given to him. It was commenced by the Hindus with such violence that Álá began to fear for the result. But at this moment a detachment left by him before Deogiri, abandoning the siege, galloped to the field to assist him; and, the dust raised by the horsemen concealing their number, the Hindus imagined that the bulk of the emperor's army had at last arrived, and immediately took to their heels. The greatest cruelty was now perpetrated by the Mahomedans, the whole country being devastated by fire and sword. Peace was finally concluded on condition of the payment of six hundred maunds of gold, seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, one thousand maunds of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and other precious commodities. A bolder attack crowned with greater success is not to be met with even in the annals of Indian warfare.

His success raised the aspirations of Álá, and he returned to Delhi only to murder his sovereign and usurp the throne. He then hastened to get into his power the family of the murdered king, who made a stand at Mooltán, where they were defeated, which led to most of the members being put to death and the rest placed in confinement. But, notwithstanding all these pressing engagements to

attend to, Álla was yet able simultaneously to defeat a Mogul army of one hundred-thousand men in the neighbourhood of Láhore.

The first great undertaking of Álláudeen's reign was the conquest of Guzerát, in 1297, the rájáh of that place having recovered his independence, on the withdrawal of the garrison left there by Mahomed Ghori, during the reign of his immediate successors. The present invasion of the province was undertaken by Ulugh Khán, the brother of Álla, and Nusrat Khán, his vizier, at the head of a large army, consisting of fourteen thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand infantry; and they soon succeeded in re-occupying it, after which they laid it waste with fire and sword, and carried off from it a large booty in gold, diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds. The rájáh, Rái Karan, escaped to Deogiri for protection with Rám Deo; but his wives, children, and treasure fell into the hands of the Moslem, and the beauty of Cumlá Devi, his favourite wife, made such impression on the heart of Álla that he married her.

In 1298, the Moguls reinvaded India, and this for sometime continued to be the crying evil of Álla's reign. The enemy on this occasion counted two hundred-thousand horse, and were led by Kátlak Khojá, a son of Dáwá, or Dáood, king of Turkestán. Álla raised an army of three hundred-thousand horse and two thousand and seven hundred elephants to repel them, and Ferishtá correctly remarks that from the time that the spears of Islám were first exalted in India, two such mighty armies had never joined in fight on its soil. The right wing of Álla's army was commanded by Záfar, a hero of great repute, the left by Ulugh Khán, and the centre by the king himself. The bravery and impetuosity of Záfar gained the victory; but he was not supported by either Ulugh Khán or Álla, both of whom equally envied his fame, and the consequence was that he was cut to pieces after a wonderful display of valour. Álla is said to have expressed greater pleasure at his death than for the victory that was obtained. The invaders,

however, were actively pursued, which sufficed to carry them out of the country for the time.

In 1299, Álá sent Ulugh Khán and Nusrat Khán with a large army against the fort of Rántambhor, which was now held by Hámir Deo, a descendant of Prithu Rái of Delhi, by whom the assailants were repulsed and the vizier slain. This forced Álá himself to the field. On the way an attempt on his life was made by his nephew, Akat, which was unsuccessful, Álá surviving the wounds he received. His attention was also distracted by conspiracies and revolts in Delhi and other places, all of which were put down. The siege of Rántambhor was then assumed, and, after sitting a whole year before the place, he succeeded in gaining access to it by a device. He collected together a large multitude of coolies, and provided each with a bag which he had to fill up with earth; and these bags, being piled on each other over a wide base, formed an ascent to the top of the walls, by which means the troops entered the fortress and occupied it. With his usual barbarity Álá put the prince, Hámir Deo, and his family and the garrison to the sword. Even the rájáh's vizier, who had deserted over to him, was killed, Álá refusing to believe that a servant who had betrayed one master could be faithful to another.

In 1302, Álá sent an army, by an unexplored route through Orissá, to reduce the fort of Wárangal, the capital of Telingáná. The expedition, however, was not successful at once, and the siege had to be long continued. He, at the same time, marched personally to Cheetore, the chief fortress of Mewár, which had never yet been reduced. The Hindu accounts attribute this invasion to the beauty of Pudmani, the wife of Bheemsi, the Lord-Protector of Mewár, which had smitten the very susceptible heart of the king. Cheetore was taken after a siege of six months; and, Bheemsi being made a prisoner, Álá insisted on the surrender of his wife as the only price for his liberation. To this the adherents of Bheemsi affected to agree, and, proposing to send the lady and her retinue in covered litters, at once transported into Delhi the flower of their warriors

—a devoted band, that liberated Bheemsi and covered his retreat with their lives. Álá reattacked Cheetore on a later day, and captured it; but, as Pudmani destroyed herself by *johur*, he avenged his disappointment in not obtaining her by the massacre of thirty thousand Hindus. He then made over the fort to one Máldeo, not considering it prudent to retain it in Moslem hands, as the Hindus were sure to contest perpetually for its possession.

The king's attention was next diverted by a fresh attack on Delhi by the Moguls, under the lead of Áli Beg Gurgun, and Tártak or Tárghi. They were opposed by Malik Káfur, Álá's favourite general, at the head of eighty thousand men. The contest was stubborn on both sides for a time, till some unaccountable cause created a panic among the Moguls and they fled, which Álá attributed to the intervention of a saint on his behalf. The invasions were repeated several times afterwards, under different leaders, named Kapak, Ikbál, and Mudásir, but were always repulsed by Álá's generals in the north, till the inhumanity of the king towards his prisoners impressed them with a salutary dread of him, which led to further thoughts of hostility being abandoned. An attack of India by a body of forty thousand Tartars under Áli, one of the grandsons of Chingez Khán, was also defeated about this time; after which the attention of Álá was again turned southward, and two expeditions were sent out, one to Guzerát and the other to Málwá, both of which were equally successful. In Málwá, the cities of Oujein, Mándu, Daranágurri, and Chinderi were taken; and, all revolt in Guzerát having been put down, the detachment sent to it proceeded thence towards the Deccan, to which a fresh expedition had been intermediately despatched under Káfur, on the pretext that Rám Deo had failed to remit the tribute due from him. It was the fortune of this party to capture Dewal Devi, the daughter of Cumlá Devi and Rái Karan, with whom it returned at once to Delhi; and, as the girl was found to be exceedingly beautiful, she was married to Chizer, the eldest son of Álláudeen.

In the meantime Káfur went on subduing the country of the Mahrattás, and then laid siege to Deogiri; but, as Rám Deo submitted, he was received into favour, and peace concluded with him on payment of rich presents. The army of Káfur then passed on, in 1309, to Telingáná, for the capture of the mud fort of Wárangal, which had all along held out to this time. It was now regularly besieged and carried by assault, after which the garrison was inhumanly murdered, which compelled Ráján Laddar Deo to purchase peace by the surrender of three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and money and jewels to a large amount, and by agreeing to pay an annual tribute to the king.

The most distant expedition of Álá's reign was that undertaken by Káfur in 1310, when he marched against Bullál Deo, rájáh of the Cárnatic, and, after defeating him and taking him prisoner, ravaged the whole country down to Cape Comorin. Káfur found in the temples a prodigious spoil in idols of gold adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects consecrated to their worship. The plunder carried by him to Delhi is said to have amounted to some three hundred elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand maunds of gold, and several chests of jewels and pearls. Of Álláudeen's riches generally it is related that they surpassed the accumulations even of Máhmood of Ghazni.

The last expedition of Káfur to the Deccan was undertaken in 1312, when the rájáh of Deogiri was put to death and his country ravaged, while the tributes of Telingáná and the Cárnatic were raised. Hirpál Deo, the son of Rám Deo, afterwards avenged his death by stirring up the whole of the Deccan to arms, and captured a number of imperial garrisons; and, Álá dying in the interim, the independence of the Deccan, which he had so exerted to stamp out, was regained.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EXPEDITION TO CHINA ACROSS THE HIMÁLAYÁS.

A.D. 1337 TO 1339.

JONÁH, otherwise called Mahomed Toglek, was a merciless tyrant, but a brave and active prince. In his reign insurrections were frequent, most of which were suppressed with great vigour, albeit they were also punished with heartless severity. The only military expedition of the emperor that need be noticed in these pages is his attempted invasion of China, a mad idea which met with the discomfiture it merited.

The reputation of the great wealth of China first raised the wish of conquering that kingdom by marching to it across the Himálayá mountains. To this end a preparatory expedition was undertaken in 1337, when an army of one hundred-thousand men was sent under the command of Chusero, a nephew of Mahomed, to explore the country between India and China, and fix garrisons along the entire line, the emperor proposing to proceed afterwards in person, at the head of his whole army, to invade Peking. The great officers of the State endeavoured to dissuade him from a purpose so extravagant and strange; but he insisted on carrying out his idea, and the departure of Chusero was expedited. The mountains were entered and crossed under great privations, and small forts were built on the route ordered to be kept open. Proceeding in this manner the boundaries of China were reached by an army greatly reduced in number and suffering the severest privations from scarcity and sickness; while they were confronted by a numerous and fresh army assembled to receive them. The dismay of the assailants at this sight knew no bounds.

Their country was at a great distance behind them; the passes they had come by were almost impracticable and not easily to be retraced, while such as could be followed up were found to have been closed by the natives; and the rains were about to overtake them. In the face of these disadvantages they commenced their retreat; but the savage inhabitants of the mountains no longer fearing them, fell upon them and plundered them of their baggage and provisions. The rain falling in torrents added to their difficulties, as the path, never easily practicable, now became perfectly impassable, particularly for horsemen, who found themselves up to the middle in water. In this dilemma, without anything almost to subsist upon, they lost the road, and within a space of fifteen days the entire army fell a prey to famine and disease. The Chinese troops scarcely stooped to molest them; it was unnecessary to do so: they simply stood by and saw them expire. Few out of the one hundred-thousand men who started on the expedition, came back to tell the tale; such as did come back were of those who were left behind to garrison the forts that were erected. The emperor, instead of pitying their condition, ordered all these to be put to death, as if they were responsible for the failure of his project. Thus ended the only attempt ever made from India to conquer China. A friendly intercourse with that country was always kept up by land, both in the Hindu and Mahomedan periods; and in the reign of Jonáh himself a splendid embassy arrived from China, in return for which Ibn Batutá, the celebrated traveller from Tangiers, was deputed by him to Peking.

CHAPTER XX.

THE INVASION OF TIMOUR.

A.D. 1397.

INDIA was invaded by Timourlung, the conqueror of Bajázet, in 1397, his sole objects being to slay infidels and amass a large booty to replenish the empty treasury of Persia. His grandson, Pir Mahomed, preceded him and laid siege to Mooltán, while he himself took direct route from Kabool to Dinkote on the Indus. All the country between Mooltán and Láhore was sacked by the invaders with fire and sword. On the banks of the Chenáb the fortress of Tulámbi was taken, and the town of the same name pillaged on the pretext of seeking for grain. The fortress of Bhátnir was reached next, after crossing the Beyáh. It belonged to a Hindu prince named Rái Dulchánd, and was garrisoned by a party of Rájpoots who refused to submit. Dulchánd, being less resolute, surrendered himself; but, as his brother and his son still held out, his own submission went for nothing, and, on the place being taken, all the inhabitants were put to the sword. On the banks of the Sutledge the armies of Timour and Pir Mahomed were united, at a place called Keitál, preparatory to their advance on Delhi; and at Pániput Timour ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel. He crossed the Jumná shortly after, that he might be better supplied with forage; and then attacked and took the fort of Lowni, the defenders of which were killed.

The army having encamped opposite to Delhi, Timour crossed over to reconnoitre the citadel. The smallness of his retinue emboldened the king, Máhmood III., to attack him; but the attack was repulsed, and Timour, returning to his camp, ordered the one hundred-thousand prisoners he

had captured since crossing the Indus to be put to death, which apprized India of the treatment she had to expect from him, and gained him the unenviable name of Hillák Khán, or the destroyer. The cause of this severity was the fear that the prisoners would naturally incline towards the people of Delhi, and probably join them if they had an opportunity to do so. The order was carried out with such alacrity by his followers that even one of the chief *moollahs*, who had never slaughtered a sheep in his life, put fifteen Hindus to the sword.

The next move of Timour was to ford the river with his army, in which he was unopposed. He then encamped on the plains before that portion of the capital which went by the name of "the city of Feroze," intrenching his position by a ditch, which was strengthened by being stocked with buffaloes fronting the enemy. Four days after he marched out of his lines and drew up his army in order of battle. Máhmood, with the army of Delhi and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced to receive him. The Indian army was inferior in numbers, but was ably commanded by an intrepid vizier: the contest therefore was for a time desperately maintained. But the charge of Timour, at the head of a squadron called "the heroes of Chighátá," having succeeded in dismounting the elephant-drivers of the opposing party, soon turned in his favour the fortune of the day. The elephants, being no longer under control, now ran backwards in terror, breaking the ranks they were intended to support; and the veteran troops of Timour, taking advantage of the confusion, pressed on with such vigour as forced their enemies to fly. The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, they fled all over the country in every direction, the king himself deserting the capital and flying to Guzerát, an example which was eagerly followed by all the higher officers of the State. The city was necessarily compelled to submit; and Timour promised protection to the inhabitants, provided a large ransom was paid. He, at the same time, placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of

the city and the magistrates to regulate the contributions to be raised. At this time some one gave out that the *omráhs* and other rich men were garrisoning their houses with their dependants to evade payment of their shares; and this, coming to the ears of Timour, he ordered a body of fifteen thousand soldiers to march on the city to enforce the authority of the magistrates. This they did with a vengeance; their entrance into the capital was marked by plunder and outrage which their own officers could not restrain; the streets were rendered impassable by heaps of the dead. Some of the Delhians endeavoured to defend themselves, but soon got worsted, and in despair threw down their weapons. The Hindus died in their usual fashion, by setting fire to their houses, after killing their wives and children; the rest of the inhabitants were all put to the sword. Some historians mention that the order for pillage and massacre was given by Timour himself, on its being reported to him that some of the citizens had resisted the collectors of the ransom on account of their violence. The character of Timour renders this highly probable; it is very unlikely that he should not have known what was being done within the city for five whole days. He entered Delhi after the massacre was all but completed, and then repaired to the mosque of Feroze to give thanks to Heaven for his victory! The architecture of the building particularly arrested his attention, upon which he ordered all further destruction of the city to be stayed. He also ordered the capture of all stone-cutters and masons, and their conveyance to Samarkand, to build for him a similar mosque in that place; and, after a residence of fifteen days in Delhi, he left it a heap of ruins.

On his way back Timour took the fortress of Meerut by assault, ravaged all the country as far as Gángotri, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, forced the rájáh of Jummoo to become a Mussulman, and reduced Láhore—beheading the Gicker chief by whom it was held. He went back with his whole army, except a small detachment left at Delhi to secure it from further depredations; but his

name was long held in such terror that, even after his death, Chizer, his viceroy in Mooltán and Láhore, found it an easy task to govern all India in succession to Máhmood, as the viceroy of Sháh Rokh, the son of the destroyer. The actual amount of plunder carried off by Timour from India is not stated, except in general terms. The variety of it is said to have been "infinite," and the value "great beyond imagination." The most considerable articles were, as usual, gold and silver in plates, and an immense quantity of pearls and precious stones. The number of captives carried off was also very great.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONQUEST OF INDIA BY BÁBER.

A.D. 1519 TO 1526.

THE tyranny of Ibráhim Lodi led to the conspiracy of his *omráhs* against him and the invitation of Báber, the king of Kabool, to the conquest of India. Báber was the sixth, or, as some count it, the eighth, successor of Timourlung on the throne of Tartary, but was driven out of his heritage, the province of Ferghánà, by Shubiáni, the king of the Uzbeks, upon which he took possession of Kabool, over which he reigned twenty-two years before his conquest of India.

Previous to the intrigues of the Indian nobles, Báber invaded the Punjáb, in 1519, claiming it as a part of the possessions of Timour; and, advancing as far as the Chenáb, conquered the whole country and placed a governor of his own over it, after which he proceeded to chastise the Gickers, and then went back to Kabool. In the latter end of the same year he returned to India with the intention of taking Láhore, and built a fort at Peshawár; but he was again obliged to go back to Kabool in consequence of an invasion of it by the king of Káshgar. In a third expedition to India, in 1520, he reached Seálkote, the inhabitants of which submitted to him and were taken into favour, while those of Syedpore, having raised the standard of defence, were put to the sword, and their wives and children carried into captivity. On this occasion also, further prosecution for his projects in India was prevented by a fresh attack on Kabool, which was this time invaded by Sháh Beg, the chief of Kandahár.

The fourth invasion of Báber, in 1524, was that under-

taken at the request of the disaffected noblemen of India, who joined him. In this he conquered Láhore and other districts of the Punjáb, and then appointing governors to them returned to Kabool on being deserted by some of the chiefs who had sided with him. The staunchest adherent he left in India was Álláudeen, the brother of Ibráhim; and he gave orders to all his officers to join his cause and march with him to Delhi, promising to come personally to his assistance as soon as the affairs of Kabool were settled. The army which Álláudeen was enabled to muster amounted to forty thousand men; but he was nevertheless defeated by Ibráhim and obliged to find refuge in Kabool, nor did Báber come back to India till 1526.

The army brought down by Báber in his fifth and last expedition, consisted of ten thousand horse. He advanced with it to Seálkote, where he was joined by most of his Indian adherents. Aided by these he defeated Dowlut Lodi, one of the *omráhs* who had first invited and then deserted him, and reduced the fort of Milwit where the traitor had taken shelter. The governor of Hissár, Firozá, was at the same time defeated by his son Humáyun, while the vanguard of Ibráhim's army was repulsed by one of his generals named Timour. By the time the two grand-armies neared each other the entire force under Ibráhim consisted of fifty thousand horse and one thousand elephants, while that under Báber amounted to twenty-four thousand horse only. An advance-party of five thousand horse sent forward by the latter having been forced to retire, Ibráhim was emboldened to risk a general action, and marched for that purpose to Pániput, where Báber also proceeded to encounter him. When the opposing forces came in sight of each other Báber divided his troops into two lines and four grand-divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. Ibráhim, being less conversant with the art of war, was not able to systematize his arrangements with equal skill, and only drew up his forces in one general line of unequal depth, with which he charged the enemy. But

the loose attack of the Páthán̈s made no impression on the compact lines of the Moguls, while the reserve-force of the latter wheeling round surrounded the Páthán̈s and speedily cut them to pieces. Ibráhim moved forward to remedy the mistake, and being followed by the flower of his army gave a violent shock to the Mogul lines. But the personal bravery of the Moguls was not inferior to their discipline, and they maintained their ground with the greatest obstinacy, till Ibráhim himself was slain, when the whole of the Páthán army fell back and were pursued with great slaughter, dyeing the course of the Jumná with blood. The battle began in the morning and lasted till noon; and, according to the most moderate account, sixteen thousand Páthán̈s were killed. By this defeat the throne of India was transferred from the house of Lodi to that of the Moguls. The cities of Ágrá and Delhi were simultaneously taken. In other places some show of opposition was made, especially in Mewát, Dholepore, Gwálior, Atáná, Kalpee, and Bianá, all of which, however, were successively reduced. The resistance thus encountered alarmed some of Báber's own officers, who clamoured for his return to Kabool; but he refused to comply with their demand, expressing his fixed determination to abide in India, while those who wanted to go back were sent away. Thus was the Mogul dynasty founded in India.

CHAPTER XXII.

BÁBER'S WARS WITH THE HINDUS.

A.D. 1527 TO 1530.

HAVING triumphed over the Mahomedans in India, Báber found that he had to fight the Hindus before he could expect to reign in peace, and took up the task after a year's possession of Delhi. Of the Hindu races the Rájpoots had been the most prominent at the time when the Mahomedans first invaded India, and, on being forced to recede before them, they established themselves finally on the table-land in the centre of Hindostán and the sandy tract extending thence to the Indus, where they long maintained their independence. The most important of the states thus founded were those of Mewár, Márwár, Bikáneer, Jesulmere, Jeypore, and Herowti. Of these Mewár was the chief, and was held at this time by Ráná Sanga, a warrior of great name. Being naturally an enemy to the king of Delhi, Sanga had sided with Báber on his invading India to overthrow the house of Lodi; but, on Báber succeeding to the throne of Delhi, Sanga veered round and became as inimical to him as he had ever been to his predecessor, and, allying himself with other Hindu princes and with the fallen house of Lodi and its adherents, raised up a not-unformidable opposition.

The first encounter between Báber and the Hindus took place at Kánná, at a short distance from Ágrá, where the advance-guard of the Mogul army, being attacked by a party of Hindus, was, after a sharp conflict, defeated with great loss, which struck such terror among the Mahomedans that, in a council of war convened by Báber, a large number of the officers present seriously recommended the abandonment of Ágrá and retreat to the Punjáb. This,

however, was resolutely opposed by Báber, who, used to reverses, met the check without dismay; and, despising the predictions of an astrologer, who foretold further defeat to his army because it had taken up a position opposite to the house of Mars, strongly appealed to the honour of the chiefs to stand fast and retrieve their disgrace. This exhortation was successful, the whole assembly responding to his appeal with enthusiasm and swearing on the Korán to support him faithfully; upon which Báber, deciding to strike while the iron was hot, brought matters to an immediate crisis by drawing up his forces on the field of Sikri (Futtehpore Sikri), near the banks of the Peelakhál, or yellow-river, where he offered battle to the enemy. The offer was promptly accepted by the Hindus, and great slaughter was caused by their furious onslaughts at the outset. But the artillery of Báber was too strong to be resisted, and, after an obstinate struggle of several hours, the centre of Sanga's army was much shaken, the confusion being completed towards the evening, when nothing remained for the Rájpoots but to fly. Sanga retreated towards the hills of Mewát, and soon after died, not without suspicion of being poisoned. Of the other great chiefs under him many, including Hássan Khán of Mewát, were slain. After this victory the fortress of Mewát was reduced, and the authority of Báber established all over Hindustán, with the exception of Oude. The fortress of Chinderi, on the borders of Bundelkund and Málwá, was also taken, the garrison dying sword in hand and leaving an empty building behind them. Báber succeeded further in reducing the whole of South Behár, and in bringing the king of Bengal to terms of peace; when he suddenly fell ill, which brought his long, chequered life to a close.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WARS OF HUMÁYUN WITH SHERE SHÁH.

A.D. 1535 TO 1542.

HUMÁYUN, the son of Báber, succeeded to an uneasy throne. The rebellion of his brothers, Kámrán and Hindal, was his first great misfortune, which gave occasion to many others by encouraging all the disaffected to rise up against him. Of these revolts the most unfortunate was that of Shere Sháh, who had originally been employed as *jyghereddr* of Sasserám. From this position Shere had gradually risen to that of a provincial lieutenant, by making himself master of Behár and of the strong fortresses of Chunár and Rhotás; and, aiming at higher elevation, he had eventually invaded Bengal. Humáyun saw through his designs, but was obliged to temporize for a time and accept the nominal submission of Shere, both on account of his own family-quarrels and the many insurrections which disturbed his reign. But the moment he found his hands free he marched against Chunár personally, in 1538, and reduced it after a siege of six months; and he thence pursued Shere to Gour, the capital of Bengal. He was here overtaken by the rains, and the whole country being soon placed under water, it became impossible to continue operations vigorously. This gave time to Shere to open negociations, not really with the purpose of concluding a peace, but with the perfidious object of opening a free intercourse between the two armies. The consequence was that, when the rains were over, the followers of Humáyun began to desert him in numbers, which enabled Sheré to issue from his retreat. He promptly recovered possession of Behár and Benáres, including the fortress of Chunár; and then, after laying siege to Juánpore, pushed up the Ganges as far as Kanouj.

The position of Humáyun now became exceedingly difficult, and, finding his communication with his capital interrupted, he determined to force his way to Ágrá, and set out on his retreat. But he was not allowed to extricate himself so easily, for Shere at once raised the siege of Juánpore to intercept him. The Mogúl army was still about forty thousand strong, while that of Shere numbered ten thousand men only; no direct attack on the former was therefore attempted. Shere knew well how to profit by delay, and quietly intrenched himself at a place called Chowsá, in such a manner that he could neither be passed nor attacked with success. Humáyun was obliged to follow the example, and, intrenching himself, began to collect boats for forming a bridge to cross the Ganges. But Shere, determined to foil him, abandoned his own post, leaving his camp standing and occupied by a small force to conceal his movement; and, gaining the rear of Humáyun's position at night, suddenly attacked him. The emperor was completely taken by surprise. No gun was fired, nor any party—friend or foe—wounded. The Moguls simply fled for safety towards the river, in which eight thousand of them were drowned, Humáyun himself being saved mainly by the exertions of a water-carrier, who ferried him over with the aid of his *moosuk* or skin-bladder.

After this, Humáyun was delayed at Ágrá on account of fresh disputes with his brother Hindal, which were no sooner arranged than he advanced, in 1540, again at the head of about forty thousand men, towards Kanouj, Shere Sháh having taken up his position there at the head of fifteen thousand men. Here the emperor was deserted by one of his generals named Mahomed Mirzá, which induced him to move out of camp and bring the contest to an issue. He, accordingly, crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats, when Shere coming up attacked him. The army of Humáyun was a second time entirely defeated almost without a fight, and driven, as before, into the Ganges, Humáyun being once more extricated with great difficulty. He now attempted to fly, and proceeded to Kámrán at Láhore;

but Kámrán deserted him and retired to Kabool, leaving Humáyun to shift for himself. The abandoned monarch then turned towards Scinde, and afterwards towards Jodpore, for shelter; but few kept faith with him, none was willing to receive him. The province of Scinde was held by Hossein Arghun, whose family had been driven out of Kandahár by Báber; and he rose up to avenge that outrage on Báber's son. The chief of Jodpore was Máldeo, the most potent Hindu prince of the day, who had no call to succour the emperor of Delhi in his distress. The tale of Humáyun's sufferings would make a romance of kingly life of unequalled interest. He was obliged to prosecute his flight through the sandy desert, till after unheard of sufferings he found refuge at Amerkote, the rájáh of which, Ráná Prasád, took compassion on his misfortunes, and received him with hospitality and respect. Eventually, he retired to the court of Támásp, the king of Persia, where he remained in peace throughout the reigns of Shere Sháh and Selim.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SHERE'S WARS IN RÁJPOOTÁNÁ.

A.D. 1542 TO 1545.

AFTER the flight of Humáyun to Persia, Shere, assuming the imperial title, exerted himself greatly in reducing the distracted provinces of the empire, and fully succeeded in doing so. All the enterprises undertaken by him will not require to be noticed. We shall only refer to those in Rájpootáná as being of especial importance.

The first efforts of Shere were directed against Málwá, which was invaded and subdued in 1542. In the following year the fort of Rasein was besieged, and the garrison of it deceitfully attacked after the terms of capitulation offered to them had been accepted. The treachery was repaid by the Rájpoots with great valour. They sold their lives so dearly that they fell surrounded by twice the number of their enemies.

These preparatory engagements over, Shere marched into Márwár, in 1544, so that Máldeo gained no advantage with him for having acted inhospitably towards Humáyun. In fact, Shere felt the power of Máldeo to be too great to be left untouched; and he took with him an army of eighty thousand men to subdue him. Máldeo received him at the head of fifty thousand men; and the judgment and caution he evinced in his movements was so great that Shere was obliged to fortify his camp at every step, and, instead of obtaining an easy conquest, as he had expected, began to repent having entered the country from which he found it impossible to retreat. There was no way left for him to turn back; and so the opposing armies lay for thirty days in sight of and watching each other. Shere did not venture to attack Máldeo, because the position occupied by the latter was deemed to be impregnable. To get out of his difficulty he

had recourse to treachery and deceit, his usual practice when hard pressed. He fabricated a letter purporting to be written to him by several of the rájáhs fighting on the side of Máldeo, in which they were represented as complaining of his tyranny, and as offering to desert over to Shere if he would confirm them in their existing rights and privileges. This letter Shere superscribed in Persian expressing his acceptance of the terms, and then threw it in the way of Máldeo, who being in dread of his chiefs fell into the snare. The perusal of the document made such an impression on him that he declined the battle he had before been anxious for; and his worst suspicions were confirmed when he found the rájáhs particularly eager for the fight. On the fourth day he ordered a retreat; when the rájáhs, having become acquainted with the trick practised on him, remonstrated with him and twitted him about it. Finding him still suspicious and doubtful they separated from him, and to vindicate their own good name, gave battle to Shere by themselves, placing one of their own number, Koombha or Kánáya, at their head. The Rájpoots were only ten or twelve thousand strong, Shere's army being about eight times stronger; and yet this handful of warriors fought so recklessly with their daggers and short-swords that Shere was all but defeated, when he was reinforced by a fresh detachment under Jelál Selwáni. With this timely succour he was able to rally his men and surround the wearied Rájpoots, who were now assailed from all sides by showers of arrows. They fell where they fought, not even one man attempting to leave his post; and Shere, obtaining the victory, passed on them the well-merited compliment that "for a handful of barley (meaning their unproductive country) he had well-nigh given the empire of India to the wind."

After this bloody victory the fortress of Cheetore surrendered to Shere by capitulation. He then occupied the district of Rántambhor, which he gave in *jyghere* to his son Ádili, and next marched against Kalinjar, before which he was killed by the bursting of a shell at the siege.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA BY HUMÁYUN.

A.D. 1553 TO 1554.

HUMÁYUN, being assisted by Támásp, was able to drive out his rebellious brothers from Kabool, Kandahár, and Badukshán, and reigned over those places till the death of Selim, the son of Shere Sháh, in India. On Selim's death the Páthán became involved in a civil war waged between the several aspirants to the throne, and Humáyun determined to avail himself of the opportunity to recover his patrimony. It was with great difficulty, however, that he was able to collect an army of fifteen thousand horse, with which he approached Peshawár, in 1553, being there joined by his general, Byrám, with all the veterans of the Kabool army. On hearing of his approach Tátár, the Páthán governor of the Punjáb, fled to Delhi, upon which Láhore, Sirhind, and Hissár were at once occupied. Sekander, who finally succeeded Selim, now got together an army of some thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, under the command of Tátár and Hybut, to oppose Humáyun; but Byrám, crossing the Sutledge, gave these battle at Machiwára, and defeated them. Sekander then advanced personally to meet the invaders at the head of eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants; and, simultaneously, Byrám was joined by Humáyun. Both Humáyun and his general preferred at first to shut themselves up in Sirhind and await the result of a siege; but, when the Páthán army drew up in fighting order, the impetuosity of Akbar, Humáyun's son, then only thirteen years old, could not be restrained; and he obtained his father's consent to give battle to the enemy. Byrám commanded the right wing of the army, Sekander Uzbek the

left, and Humáyun himself the centre. The left wing having charged, Akbar, who had joined it, distinguished himself greatly by acts of personal valour. His efforts were ably seconded both by his father and by Byrám; and Sekander Sháh's army was routed with great slaughter, while he himself fled, first in the direction of the Sewálik mountains, and afterwards to Bengal. Thus was the throne of India regained by Humáyun.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE WARS OF AKBAR.

A.D. 1556 TO 1604.

THE reign of Akbar furnishes one of the most brilliant and eventful chapters of Indian history; but the task we have set to ourselves confines us entirely to the wars that were waged by him. At the very commencement of his reign he had to fight Hému, a valiant Hindu warrior, who was prime-minister to Mahomed Ádili, the Páthán emperor of India, and who took Ágrá on behalf of his master at the head of thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants, and then marching on to Delhi defeated Tirdi Beg whom Akbar had left there in command. By this time Hému's army had increased to one hundred-thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, and a great train of artillery, while that of Akbar scarcely exceeded twenty thousand horse. Nevertheless, neither Akbar nor his minister, Byrám, would agree to retire before the enemy when it was proposed by some *omráhs* of the court that they should do so. The young king panted for battle, and, his enthusiasm being shared in by his army, the result was an engagement at Pániput. Hému began the action with his elephants, in the hope of being able to frighten the Mogul cavalry, which anticipation however was not realized. The attack of the Moguls was resolute, and the elephants, being galled with lances, arrows, and javelins, became so outrageous as to cause the greatest confusion in the Páthán ranks. Hému was pierced through the eye, but still continued to fight with desperate bravery, till he was surrounded and made prisoner. Byrám was desirous that Akbar should kill him with his own hands; but the young emperor refused to strike a fallen enemy, upon which he was despatched by the

minister himself. Fifteen hundred elephants and all the artillery of the enemy were captured, together with the vast private wealth of Hému; and every opposition being ended Akbar seized upon Delhi, and was a second time crowned emperor in it.

The first war undertaken by Akbar on being firmly seated on the throne was the conquest of the country of the Gickers, which lay on the banks of the Indus, from the Sewálik hills to the borders of Cashmere. These mountaineers owned allegiance to Báber on his conquest of India, and after that time remained faithful to the dynasty, refusing to submit to Shere. Shere thereupon ordered the Gicker chief, Sárung Sultán, who had been captured, to be flayed alive, and shut up his son, Kamal, in the fort of Gwálior. On the restoration of Humáyun to the throne, Kamal prayed to be restored to his paternal inheritance, which at that time was held by one Adam Khán Gicker. The imperial order directed the division of the territory into two equal parts between the two claimants; but, as Adam Khán did not agree to this arrangement, a royal army marched into the country and conquered it, and made over the whole of it to Kamal.

The next military event of importance was the conquest of Gurráh Katanka, or Gurráh Mundala, which was ruled over by a Hindu princess, named Doorgavati, who opposed the imperial general, Ásaph, in person. Ásaph's army amounted to fifty thousand horse and foot, while the ránee had only twenty thousand horse and foot, besides a large number of elephants. The battle between them was fought before the fort of Chaurágurh, and was obstinately contested on both sides. At last the ránee was wounded by an arrow, and, fearing to fall into the hands of the enemy, she snatched a dagger from her elephant-driver and stabbed herself to death. This decided the contest. Some further resistance was offered by the ránee's son; but he was soon killed, upon which the fort was captured with all the treasure in it, and the whole country occupied.

After these events, Akbar had to encounter the rebellions

of the Uzbek Tartars and others, which gave him a great deal of trouble. When these were quelled, he determined to proceed in person against the Ráná of Cheetore, who had taken advantage of the unsettled state of the country to declare his independence. Akbar appeared before Cheetore in 1568, upon which the Ráná—Udaya Sing, son of Sanga—retreated from the place, leaving a garrison of eight thousand Rájpoots to defend it on his behalf, while he with his family sought refuge in the more inaccessible retreats of Guzerát. The absence of the chief was more than counterbalanced by the valour of his deputy, named Jeimál, who defended the fortress with great coolness and vigour. Akbar investing it, set five thousand pioneers to throw up trenches, and carried on his approaches with much caution and regularity. When he had completed two batteries and carried two mines under different bastions he endeavoured to spring them at once; but one of them going off before the other, it blew up one of the bastions and made a practicable breach. Two thousand men, who were ready to storm the place, now advanced under the belief that both the mines had been sprung; and the second mine blowing up at this juncture, five hundred of them were killed, which so dispirited the rest that they fell back from the breach. Another mine was, however, immediately after carried on, and Jeimál being at the same time killed by a ball, said to have been fired by Abkar himself, the imperial army entered the fortress without opposition, just after the garrison had devoted themselves to death and retired to the temples to offer their last religious services. Akbar entered the place with three hundred elephants of war, which he ordered to advance and tread the garrison to death; and this order was brutally carried out, three thousand men being slain. The rest of the Rájpoots were taken prisoners: a few only escaped with their lives.

Notwithstanding the loss of his capital, Ráná Udaya Sing still lived independent in his fastnesses; but he was himself of a feeble character, and gave Akbar no further trouble. After his death the gauntlet was taken up by his

son, Pratápa, a hero worthy to emulate the achievements of his grandsire Sanga. Without capital, without resources, with kindred and clans dispirited and impoverished, he maintained an unavailing struggle with the emperor of Delhi, suffering the greatest privations, and, what was harder still to endure, the bad faith of his relatives and friends. Akbar, backed by all the Rájpoot princes who had intermediately joined him, took the field in person against Pratápa, who had nothing to trust to but his native hills and the valour of twenty-two thousand Rájpoots who yet adhered to him. The greatest of his battles was fought at Huldighát, in 1576, when he was opposed by Prince Selim under the direction of Rajáh Mán Sing. The most heroic bravery could not withstand the numbers that swelled the imperial army, and the result of the engagement was that fourteen thousand Rájpoots were slain, while Pratápa, wounded and dismounted, was obliged to save himself by flight on foot. The defeat was followed by the capture of Komulmere, Dhurmeti, Gogoondá, and Oodypore by the Moguls, after which Pratápa was hunted from glen to glen, like the doe or tiger, and was saved only by the approach of the rains. But he still held out even to the last, and died amidst the greatest privations, forcing a pledge from his son, Umur, that his country would not be quietly yielded up to the Mogul. This pledge Umur fulfilled to the letter, defeating the imperial armies signally at Demier and Ranpore. But it was no longer possible to save Mewár from the clutch of the invaders, and when Selim (as Jehángire) brought overwhelming armies against it to crush out its freedom for ever, Umur, defeated and heart-broken, abdicated that throne which he could no longer hold but as a dependant.

The conquest of Cheetore by Akbar was followed by the occupation of the fortress of Rántambhor, in 1569, on the plea that the chief, Rái Surjan, had given assistance to Udaya Sing during the siege of Cheetore. The place was regularly invested, and batteries raised to reduce it; but Surjan agreeing to accept terms, it was occupied without

bloodshed after some breaches had been made. Then followed the capture of Kalinjar, the fortress before which Shere had lost his life. The renown of the conquest of Cheetore and Rántambhor made the work so easy that Ráját Rámchandra, the chief in charge of the place, prudently sent the keys of it to Abkar by his own envoy, preferring to hold it under an imperial *firmán* than maintain a useless and unprofitable contest. Abkar also invaded Márwár, in 1571, and, to requite the repulse his parents had received from Jodpore, successively took the fortresses of Málákote and Nágore after sanguinary conflicts, while a formal grant of Jodpore was made to Rái Sing, a junior membor of Máldeo's family, who was left to fight for its possession with Máldeo himself. Rái Sing, however, never obtained possession; and, after Máldeo's death, his son, submitting to the emperor, was treated with the greatest favour and distinction.

An affair of greater magnitude, in which Akbar was involved from 1572, was the campaign in Guzerát, where the *Hábshis*, or Abyssinians, defied the imperial power, particularly in Broach, Barodá, and Surát. The fortress of Surát, which was the home and stronghold of the *Hábshis*, was invested by the emperor in person, and one of the rebel chiefs, named Ibráhim Hossein, attempting to escape, was attacked and defeated by him at Sarnál, at the head of barely a hundred men. The siege being continued, Surát was also taken; and several attempts made by the *Hábshis* to regain it only resulted in their final defeat and the complete conquest of Guzerát.

The next great enterprise of Akbar was the conquest of Bengal, which was undertaken, in 1575. This province, having revolted from Mahomed Ádili, had become virtually independent, and was now ruled over by a prince named Dáood. Akbar attacked it at the head of five thousand horse and six hundred elephants, and, laying siege to Pátná, reduced it after six months. He then left it to his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, while he himself returned to Ágrá, after having captured Alláhábád on the way. The

lieutenants of the emperor, however, did not find the reduction of Bengal so easy as they had expected it. Dáood twice encountered and defeated them. He was subsequently defeated by Rájáh Torur Mul, and being pressed hard, had to seek safety in Orissá, but, on the death of Torur Mul, he appeared again to renew the war; and Bengal was not completely subdued till Dáood was defeated and slain. The Afghán settlers in it revolted once more in 1579, and had to be again reduced, once by Ázim Khán, and a second time by Rájáh Mán Sing, who finally came to a settlement with them by which they were allowed to retain Orissá in nominal dependency to the empire.

Akbar next made himself master of the kingdom of Cashmere. There was no pretext for the war undertaken against it; the hopes of the emperor were only excited by the distractions prevailing among the princes who reigned over the country. The first detachment sent to occupy it, in 1586, was commanded by a general named Sháh Rokh. It was followed by another detachment despatched under Rájáh Bhugwándás. The great obstacles encountered by both were the difficulties and dangers of the mountain-passes giving access to the country, which were not overcome till further reinforcements were sent up. Every opposition being eventually surmounted, the king of Cashmere submitted to the imperial power, and was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi.

The next operations of Akbar were directed against the Afgháns inhabiting the hill-countries in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawár. These were very troublesome neighbours, not only to Peshawár, but to the imperial governor at Kabool, and displayed a fanâtical spirit which Akbar was anxious to put down. Two expeditions had previously been sent against them. The first of these consisted of two detachments which were respectively commanded by Zean Khán, the foster-brother of the emperor, and Rájáh Birbal. But the chiefs did not pull well together, and, operating separately, were defeated, Birbal being slain. Fresh expeditions were sent up under Rájáhs Torur Mul and

Mán Sing, who, working cordially, took up and fortified positions in different parts of the country, from which they were able to prevent the Afgháns from cultivating their plains. This soon reduced the mountaineers to terms; but, while one sect was subdued, another still remained intractable. The last combined attack on them was undertaken in 1587, led from the direction of Kabool by Rájáh Mán Sing, and from the banks of the Indus by Akbar in person, upon which they were completely defeated, though even then no permanent results guaranteeing their future good behaviour were obtained.

The concluding part of Akbar's reign was almost totally employed in the completion of his favourite project, the conquest of the Deccan. The main divisions of the Deccan at this period were Beejápore, Golcondá, Berár, Ahmednugger, and Ahmedábád, in all of which independent sovereignties had been established by different Mahomedan adventurers, from different dates. Akbar was anxious to subjugate all these, and bring them under imperial control; and the death of Nizám Sháh, the king of Ahmednugger, in 1592, gave him the wished-for opportunity to interfere. A large army was sent to Ahmednugger, under Byrám's son, who was called the Khán-Khánán, to operate in favour of a claimant to the throne, and against the rightful heir; the latter being a minor, whose cause was upheld by Chánd Bibi, the daughter of the deceased, the favourite Mahomedan heroine of the Deccan. The kings of Beejápore and Golcondá made common cause with and sent troops to support the second party; while the Mogul commander was reinforced by fresh forces under Murád, one of the sons of Akbar. Ahmednugger was now regularly besieged; but the mines laid by the assailants were rendered useless by the countermines of the besieged, and, when a breach in one place was effected, the assault of the Moguls was defeated by the determined resistance of the garrison, with the heroic Chánd Bibi fighting in full uniform at their head. This led to an agreement of peace; but, as violent internal dissensions broke out in Ahmednugger immediately after, the Moguls were em-

boldened to risk a general engagement, which was fought for two days on the banks of the Godávery. The victory was claimed by the Moguls, but it did not secure the conquest of the country; and army after army continued to be sent to the field from both sides, which were alternately triumphant and unsuccessful. At last Akbar went to the place in person, in 1598, and Chánd Bibi being at the same time killed by the faction opposed to her in Ahmednugger, Báhádur Khán, the minor king, was induced to surrender the fortress to the emperor, while others say that it was carried by assault, after which the minor was sent a prisoner to Gwálior. Even the fall of the capital, however, did not produce the submission of the whole country. It was succeeded by the capture of Áseergurh, after which Akbar returned to Ágrá, leaving the completion of the enterprise in the hands of Ábul Fázl. The whole of the Deccan was never reduced in Akbar's time; but an extensive portion of it was added to the empire, and a vast amount of tribute swelled up the rent-roll.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REBELLION OF SHÁH JEHÁN.

A.D. 1615 TO 1628.

THE reign of Jehánghire was undisturbed by any foreign wars of importance, but was much distracted by the rebellion of his sons, and mainly by that of Sháh Jehán. The first to break out was Chusero, the eldest, who unfurled the standard of opposition within six months after his father's accession to the throne, and was supported in his misbehaviour by his maternal uncle, Rájáh Mán Sing, and his father-in-law, Ázim Khán, in conjunction with whom he was able to raise an army of ten thousand horse in the Punjáb. But this did not render him strong enough to withstand the imperial army. The city of Láhore was betrayed to him, and he was making an ineffectual attempt to reduce the citadel, when he was overtaken by Jehánghire and totally defeated; and, being captured, was placed in confinement and partially blinded. Purvez, the emperor's second son, now became his favourite, and continued to hold that position till Jehánghire's marriage with Noor Jehán, after which all the family affections of the emperor were merged in his ardent passion for that lady, which naturally made both Purvez and Sháh Jehán excessively indignant. Unfortunately, the brothers were at the same time objects of the greatest jealousy to each other, and this feeling was converted into hatred when Sháh Jehán, on account of his superior abilities, was selected for the command of the Deccan, and invested with viceregal powers.

At the very moment that Sháh Jehán was thus elevated he determined to clear his way of all obstacles to the throne; and, as Chusero still lived, he was first destined to destruction. His murder was accomplished with the

aid of hired assassins, Sháh Jehán going off at the time on a hunting expedition to divert suspicion. He was, nevertheless, openly accused of the crime by Jehánghire, whose expressions of resentment compelled him to throw off the mask and seek safety in overt rebellion. He accordingly collected a large army, which his position as commander-in-chief in the Deccan enabled him easily to accomplish; and he marched with it towards Ágrá with the intention of capturing the treasures of the empire then under transmission to Láhore. Jehánghire was no sooner apprized of this than he called together all the forces immediately available to him, amounting to forty thousand horse, with which he hastened to meet the rebel prince. The two armies confronted each other for some days at Belochpore, forty miles to the south of Delhi, in hourly expectation of battle. This gave Sháh Jehán an opportunity to represent his grievances to his father, his complaint being of the intrigues of his stepmother, Noor Jehán, to his prejudice, which necessitated him, he said, to demand securities for his protection. These representations exasperated Jehánghire still more against him; but Sháh Jehán gained the object he had in view in advancing them, as they strengthened the attachment of his followers by vindicating his conduct and lessening his crime in their eyes. In the meantime the emperor was joined by Mohábet Khán from Kabool, and Khán Jehán from Mooltán, and was thus enabled to offer battle on equal terms. The army of Sháh Jehán was marshalled by Ráját Bikramjeet (Vikramáditya) who commanded the centre, while Ráját Bheem commanded on the right, and Daráb Khán on the left. The imperialists were commanded in chief by Ásaph Khán, who occupied the centre, while Mohábet had charge of the right wing, and Nawázez Khán of the left. The action was begun by the advance-guards on both sides, and when those of Sháh Jehán were defeated, Ásaph Khán pressed forward to attack the position of Bikramjeet. Both Bikramjeet and Ásaph Khán fought with great heroism, till the former fell pierced through the head by

an arrow, upon which the centre of the rebel army was broken and fled, while Mohábet at the same time drove off its left wing from the field. The ground was still maintained on Sháh Jehán's side by Ráját Bheem, who succeeded in driving Nawázez Khán before him; and this led both parties to claim the victory. But the consequences of the engagement were most adverse to Sháh Jehán, and all his attempts to renew the fight were defeated by the opposition of his own men, who, seized by panic, refused to listen to his exhortations. This compelled him to fly towards Mewát, whither he was followed by his implacable brother, Purvez, at the head of a large army. A second engagement was fought at Mándu, in which Sháh Jehán sustained a second defeat, after which he precipitately entered the Deccan, a great portion of his forces deserting him on the way.

But Sháh Jehán was only defeated, not subdued. Crossing through the dreary borders of Golcondá he forced a passage through Orissá to Bengal, where he successively took possession of Burdwán, Rájmahal, and the fortress of Telliághurri, the last of which was defended by European gunners and engineers. He then entered Pátná, where he found a large amount of treasure, and, after leaving his family at Rhotás, diverged in the direction of Dáccá, where still greater heaps of gold and silver were secured. All Bengal now received him as its sovereign; but his ambition refused to rest contented with an empire so small. He put himself again in motion in the direction of Benáres and Alláhábád, to the relief of which latter place Purvez and Mohábet Khán advanced rapidly at the head of fifty thousand horse. Sháh Jehán crossed the Ganges to meet them though his army was less strong, counting no more than forty thousand horse. He had a further disadvantage in the people of the country refusing to furnish him with supplies; but he hoped to make everything right by a great victory. His expectations were disappointed. The engagement took place on the banks of a little brook called Tonish. The advance-guard of Sháh Jehán was again the

first to yield, and Rájáh Bheem, who commanded it, after having fought with much bravery, was slain. Mohábet then attacked the centre of the rebel army with great fury, and the shock was so violent that Sháh Jehán was driven from his guns. For a moment Suchait Khán was able to help him to rally his broken squadrons, but they were both defeated again and driven back in confusion. Sháh Jehán then formed the desperate resolution of plunging in the thickest of the fight with only five hundred men at his back, and gave even Mohábet a check which compelled him to retire. But the prince was not supported by his followers. His officers, considering the battle to be lost, absolutely refused to advance; and he was eventually forced away from the field by his own men who carried him to Rhotás, the rich plunder of his camp putting a stop to immediate pursuit.

Purvez and Mohábet then hunted Sháh Jehán from place to place, and Bengal, Behár, and Orissá fell as easily into their hands as they had fallen before into those of Sháh Jehán. The latter now attempted to form an alliance with the Portuguese, the most powerful European nation in India at this time; but they refused to assist him, and even went so far as to reproach him for demanding their aid against his own parent and sovereign. Sháh Jehán was sensible of the reproof, and therefore never forgave it: at a later date he drove them out of every settlement they occupied in India. Reduced to great extremities Sháh Jehán was at last able to form an alliance with the Rájáh of Ambere, and took shelter in the mountains of Bálághát. His followers now fell off in considerable numbers, and his own spirit was broken and subdued. He hastened, therefore, to make peace with his father, who accepted his submission on the forts still held on his behalf—among which were Rhotás in Behár and Áseergurh in the Deccan—being surrendered. Sháh Jehán never came back to court in person, though he sent his children, Dárá and Soojá, as pledges of his fidelity. He was either ashamed to come in the presence of a father whom he had so ill-used, or afraid

to venture within the pale of Noor Jehán's influence; and he roved about as a knight-errant, with five hundred men at his back, from the Indus to the Deccan.

At a subsequent period Sháh Jehán was once more in arms in the Deccan; but, not being supported by the adherents he had expected, he yielded almost immediately after without the interposition of force. The emperor died a short time after, and Purvez having intermediately been carried off by an apoplexy, Dáwir Buksh, the son of Chusero, was made to succeed him. But Sháh Jehán, being joined by Ásaph Khán and Mohábet, was now fully able to assert his rights, and, coming up from the Deccan, deposed and murdered the young prince, and ascended the throne.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REBELLION OF KHÁN JEHÁN LODI.

A.D. 1632.

ONE of the most remarkable episodes of the reign of Sháh Jehán was the rebellion of Khán Jehán Lodi, a nobleman descended from the imperial family of Lodi, which had occupied the throne of India previous to the time of Báber. This chief at the death of Jehánghire commanded the emperor's armies in the Deccan, and, having been gained over by Noor Jehán to support the cause of her son, Shehriar, refused Sháh Jehán a passage through his government towards Ágrá. Sháh Jehán was thereby compelled to take a circuitous route, and on ascending the throne determined to reduce Lodi to obedience. As the latter, however, was still at the head of a large army, he was permitted to come to terms, and, on resigning the imperial division of the Deccan, was appointed to the government of Málwá. But the emperor was not sincere in his professions of reconciliation and forgiveness; and Lodi soon received orders to repair to court, and, on appearing there, was treated with studied disrespect. One of his sons resented an affront given to him; a sudden murmur spread through the court, and many placed their hands on their swords; and Lodi and his sons drew out their weapons to defend themselves. The tumult increased; the emperor leapt from his throne and fled into the *hárem;* while Lodi and his sons left the palace in disgust. The residence of Lodi was now attacked, but was obstinately defended by his dependants. His greatest difficulty there were the women he had to protect, and these, finding that he was mainly afflicted on their account, repaired to their own apartments and killed themselves. This made Lodi desperate. He ordered his drums

to be beaten and his trumpets to be sounded; and his people gathering around him, he threw open the gate and openly issued out of Agra. He rushed through the city like a whirlwind; and no attempt was made to intercept him.

The emperor afterwards ordered a pursuit, and Lodi was overtaken by a strong body of imperial troops on the banks of the Chumbul, which he could not cross as it was swollen by the rains. He therefore took up his post in a pass between two hills which opened into a narrow plain. The imperialists trusting to their numbers charged on him, but were so warmly received that they drew back in fear. Shame forced them to renew the charge. The shock was violent; the slaughter very heavy on both sides: but the opposition was neverthless desperately maintained, Khán Jehán himself being engaged in hand-to-hand fight with a stubborn Hindu warrior, named Ráját Prithi Sing Ráhtore. It was at last determined to attempt the river, and Lodi and his son Hossein plunged into it, while another son, Azmut, held back the imperialists. The latter and his party were cut to pieces; but Lodi succeeded in reaching Málwá notwithstanding a vigorous pursuit, and passed on thence to the Nizám at Dowlutábád, an old ally who received him with open arms.

The emperor knew the man he had to deal with, and personally undertook an expedition into the Deccan to capture him. The army collected for the purpose included one hundred-thousand horse; while the infantry, artillery, and military attendants swelled up the total number to three hundred-thousand men. This was further augmented as the army advanced towards the theatre of operations, the governors of the provinces passed through joining it with the forces under their respective commands. All the princes of the Deccan were now threatened with utter destruction if they refused to make their submission; and their distrust of each other, indecision, and fear rendered the cause of Lodi exceedingly precarious. He was able, however, to unite the forces of Golcondá and Beejápore,

and with these opposed the imperial general, Erádut, who made vain efforts to penetrate into Golcondá. The emperor afterwards sent the vizier, Ásaph Jáh, against him; and the name and renown of that officer led to many desertions from Lodi's ranks which thinned them considerably. But Lodi still refused to yield, and eluded the Mogul detachments by moving from place to place, till he was overtaken by Ázim Khán, and was defeated and forced to fly, after having defended himself a whole night against the entire force of his opponent.

Lodi escaped in the dark and wandered over Golcondá, while the Nizám, compelled to make peace, was obliged to agree to surrender him. This made Lodi change his course towards Oujein, and thence to Kalinjar, in the vain hope of being able to revive the spirit of insurrection in Bundelkund. All his sons were slain in his defence, and he had only thirty men with him when he was again overtaken by a Mogul detachment led by Mozuffer Khán. He told his followers to save themselves by flight, but they burst into tears and would not desert him. Thirty men then rushed upon a strong and well-armed military force, and were cut down to a man, but not till they had made dreadful havoc among their enemies. One account says that Lodi was pierced by a ball and fell dead at the feet of his horse; another, that he was struck through with a pike.

After the death of Lodi the war against the princes of the Deccan was continued, Sháh Jehán being very anxious to reduce them. But seeing the enemy so persistent, they quietly retired from the field into their strongholds, which converted the fight into a succession of sieges, which were eventually terminated by the occupation of a few forts by the Moguls, while the princes generally, though much distressed, remained virtually unconquered.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CIVIL WARS WAGED BY THE SONS OF SHÁH JEHÁN.

A.D. 1657 TO 1661.

THE sanguinary conflict carried on by the sons of Sháh Jehán, during his lifetime, for the prospective succession to the throne, forms a singular chapter of history, which is not the less instructive for its uniqueness. The first half of the reign of Sháh Jehán was fully occupied by several important enterprises, among which were the war with the Uzbek Tartars in Kabool, that with the Persians for the possession of Kandahár, and the continued and obstinate prosecution of operations for the subjugation of the independent Mahomedan sovereignties in the Deccan. The first was patched up by a great victory obtained over the Uzbeks by Prince Aurungzebe, in 1647, which, though not decisive in its result, succeeded in putting a stop to further attacks by them for the time. The second terminated with the loss of Kandahár, which was annexed for good to the Persian dominions. The third, in which all the hopes and wishes of the emperor were centred, was an affair of much greater moment than the rest, and taxed all the energies of Mohábet, to whom the operations were first intrusted, without satisfying the emperor with the successes he was able to attain.

The sons of the emperor received their training in these wars, and were thus rendered qualified for that contest which they subsequently carried on with so much hatred and jealousy. Dárá Sheko, the first, was his father's favourite, on whom Sháh Jehán, when he became indolent and addicted to pleasures, devolved many of his imperial duties which he was not able personally to perform. Soojá

was his viceroy in Bengal, and Murád in Guzerát; while Aurungzebe held the same position in the Deccan, more by his own choice than by his father's selection, because it placed him in command of the best trained of the emperor's armies. At first Soojá was selected to assist Mohábet in the Deccan, and to learn the art of war under him; and it was this preference shown to one son that displeased the rest, and gave rise to the animosity and jealousy which afterwards broke out among them. But Soojá soon became too arrogant for Mohábet to control him, upon which he was recalled; and when, on the death of Mohábet, Sháh Jehán himself repaired to the Deccan to superintend operations, he took Aurungzebe with him, and left him under the tuition of Khán Zemán, the son of Mohábet. During this absence of Aurungzebe, Dárá and Soojá were raised to high ranks of nobility by the emperor, which made Aurungzebe particularly jealous, and suggested those projects of ambition which he began to concert means with Meer Jumlá to carry out. Dárá was alive to the danger he suspected, and frequently represented to his father that it was hazardous to leave the management of the Deccan in the hands of Aurungzebe; and, in compliance with these constant whisperings, Aurungzebe was several times removed from his post, but always managed to revert to it. He won great honour by the victory over the Uzbeks to which reference has been made, and the opportunity was taken to appoint him to the government of Mooltán; but, having failed in the operations against Kandahár, he preferred to come back, and was re-posted to the Deccan.

It was in this state of affairs that Sháh Jehán fell sick from intemperance in the seraglio, and was rendered unfit for business; and this at once kindled the flames of civil war. Dárá, with the right of primogeniture on his side and already vested with a great share of imperial authority, regarded the ambition of his brothers with distrust, and hastened to take measures to prevent any arrogation of authority on their part. Soojá, in secure possession of

Bengal, thought that he had only to stretch out his hand to snatch the imperial crown. Aurungzebe best knew his own strength, and covered his designs under the convenient cloak of religion. Murád, the most vehement of the brothers, thought himself to be the most deserving of the throne, and became an easy tool in the hands of Aurungzebe.

The first to appear on the field was Soojá, who excused his precipitancy by the violence of Dárá. He had already been threatened with imprisonment or death, and necessity, he contended, fully justified his rebellion. Immediately after him Murád also declared himself, being proclaimed emperor at Guzerát by the army he commanded; upon which Soojá hastened his movements and pressed towards Benáres. But Solimán, the son of Dárá, being sent by his father against the latter, soon surprised and completely defeated him, and forced him to take refuge in Monghyr, which he besieged.

In the meantime Murád opened communications with Aurungzebe, and proposed a joint action against Dárá, which was promptly and affectionately agreed to. "Dárá," wrote back Aurungzebe in reply, "is from his natural weakness unfit to rule; Soojá is a heretic, and therefore unworthy of the crown; as for me, I have long since dedicated myself to the service of God, and only ask for safety and tranquillity. But I shall, with my poor abilities, assist you to take possession of the throne, which you alone fully deserve to occupy, and for which the wishes of the people have already selected you." The bait took, for Murád, blinded by ambition, suspected no artifice. His army joined that of Aurungzebe, and both together gave battle to Ráják Jeswant Sing, who had been sent by Dárá to operate against them. The action took place on the banks of the Nermuddá, near Oujein, and was begun by the Mogul cavalry of Dárá's army, who were soon worsted by the veteran warriors under Aurungzebe. Jeswant Sing, at the head of thirty thousand Rájpoots, endeavoured to repair the defeat, and, falling furiously on Aurungzebe, obliged him to draw back; but the

troops of Murád, attacking the flank of the Rájpoots, gave occasion to a mixed and undistinguishing struggle, and eventually forced the Rájpoots from the field. Ten thousand Rájpoots were slain, and Solimán, the son of Dárá, was obliged to raise the siege of Monghyr, and patch up a peace with Soojá and hasten to the assistance of his father at Ágrá. But Dárá refused to await his arrival. Placing himself at the head of a hundred-thousand horse with one thousand pieces of cannon, he hastened to oppose Aurungzebe and Murád, who had only forty thousand horse under them. The two parties appeared before each other on the banks of the Chumbul, and for a moment Aurungzebe was disconcerted. But the treachery of Sháistá Khán, one of the generals of Dárá, reassured him, and he was helped to a by-road by which to march towards Ágrá, the camp of the confederated brothers on the Chumbul being left unbroken to prevent the suspicions of Dárá being awakened. At last Dára discovered that his brothers had gone off, and, immediately pressing after them overtook them at a distance of sixteen miles from Ágrá, where the two armies drew up face to face for battle. The army of Dárá was marshalled by Roostum; but Dárá having heedlessly given him offence, he went and placed himself in front of the left wing, the right being commanded by Sháistá Khán, and the centre by Dárá himself. Of Aurungzebe's army the centre was intrusted to Murád, the left to Mahomed, the son of Aurungzebe, while the right was commanded by Aurungzebe himself, who, without arrogating the post of honour, occupied that of danger, being opposed to Roostum, the greatest of the generals on the opposite side.

The engagement was begun by an attack of cavalry headed by Roostum, who charged with great ability and spirit, but was unable to penetrate a masked battery in front of Aurungzebe's line, the guns of which were chained together. Being at the same time singled out by the order of Aurungzebe, he received a cannon-ball on his breast as he was cheering his men to the charge, which at once checked the fury of his followers. But Chuttersál, a Rá-

poot chief, still offered a determined resistance at the head of five thousand Rájpoots; and it was not till he fell that the whole wing was put to flight. In the meantime, Dárá, with the centre of his army, fell upon Murád with great vigour, and though he was repulsed repeatedly by volleys of artillery, rallied again and again, till the whole of Murád's centre was broken and he himself covered with wounds. At this critical juncture Murád was supported by some fresh troops under Mahomed, the son of Aurungzebe, who was especially sent to extricate him. This checked the triumph of Dárá, while it revived the troops of Murád, and the battle was renewed on both sides with redoubled fury. Many thousands of men were slain, and many thousands also fled from the field; but still the contest went on, till not more than one thousand men remained on the side of Dárá, and scarcely one hundred with Aurungzebe and Murád. The hopes of the latter now began to fail, when Dárá's foster-brother, who sat with him on the same elephant, having been struck dead by a cannon-ball, the elephant-driver made the animal recede a few paces, either from personal fear or to secure the safety of his master, upon which all the men on Dárá's side, anticipating his retreat, took to their heels, and when Dárá, descending from his elephant, mounted a horse, he found the field deserted by his followers.

This defeat dashed the hopes of Dárá for ever, and gave the crown of India to Aurungzebe. Dárá was anxious to repair to Ágrá to defend it; but it was correctly pointed out to him by Sháh Jehán that walls were no defence for those who had failed in open fight. Aurungzebe in the meantime affected an anxious wish to throw himself at the feet of his father, and, under this semblance, Mahomed, his son, was able to enter the citadel, overpower the imperial guards, and man the walls and ramparts with his own men, whereby Sháh Jehán was made a prisoner. Simultaneously, Aurungzebe was also playing at cross purposes with Murád, each brother suspecting the other's intentions and endeavouring to make him a prisoner. The

scheme of Aurungzebe was at last successful. He entrapped Murád by inviting him to a company of young ladies by whom he was intoxicated, after which he was seized and bound, and sent a prisoner first to Delhi, and subsequently to Gwálior. Aurungzebe then mounted the throne, assuming the name of Állumgire.

Dárá was now at Láhore, expecting to be joined by his son Solimán. The latter had still a large though disorganized army under him; but, not being in a position to give Aurungzebe battle, he moved along the impervious country on the north, where the Ganges issues from the mountains, endeavouring only to make good his retreat. In this way he entered Cashmere, upon which Aurungzebe closed all the passes of the mountains and held him a prisoner there, till the ráját of Cashmere was, on a later day, prevailed upon to surrender him. The forces under Dárá were yet numerous; but his heart failed him when Aurungzebe arrived on the Sutledge to give him battle, and he fled towards Mooltán followed by Mahomed.

Aurungzebe now turned his arms towards Soojá, who had intermediately been collecting an army, and was on his way to Ágrá to release Sháh Jehán from confinement. Mahomed was at the same time recalled from Mooltán, and Meer Jumlá from the Deccan; and the three armies joined on the banks of the Jumná, near Alláhábád, at a short distance from which Soojá was encamped. The attack on Soojá was commenced by Jumlá, who had observed the negligent disposition of his forces and opened his batteries upon them. He was supported by Aurungzebe, who ordered his elephants to advance and tread down the intrenchments raised by Soojá; and the elephant-charge being loyally supported by a strong body of cavalry, everything was carried down before them. At this moment Jeswant Sing, still smarting under his defeat near Oujein, having since joined the side of Aurungzebe, now deserted him, and fell on his rear, where he did much havoc, raising the cry of Aurungzebe's defeat. But Aurungzebe fought on unshaken; and, when his elephant was wounded, he ordered

it to be chained to its place, himself remaining immoveable in the midst of the battle, lest one step backwards should turn the tide against him. The nobles who rushed to his rescue bore down all opposition before them; the advantage gained by Soojá was lost; and when he descended from his elephant on its being hurt, his army, seeing an empty castle, thought him to be slain, and fled.

Aurungzebe was in no condition to pursue the enemy; but he was now at liberty to fall upon the Rájpoôts, who had been plundering his rear. A bloody battle was fought with them, and they were compelled to fly; but they succeeded in carrying off all the booty they had taken. In the meantime Soojá fled, deserted by his followers and deserting them. He first sought refuge at Pátná, and then at Monghyr, after which he was hunted from place to place by Meer Jumlá, whom Aurungzebe despatched to Bengal to subjugate it; and Soojá was obliged to fly to Arracan through the forests and mountains of Tipperáh, and was there murdered by the Mugh Rájáh, together with his family.

Dárá, after Soojá's defeat on the banks of the Jumná, showed a bold front by collecting his forces in the neighbourhood of Ajmere, where he intrenched himself strongly. His position was so strong that Aurungzebe hesitated to attack him; but the difficulty was got over by the discovery of a narrow and steep path which gave access to a mountain on the right of Dárá's lines, the summit of which was attained. Simultaneously, a deceptive movement made by two of Aurungzebe's generals—Delere Khán and Jaya Sing—who affected to desert Aurungzebe to march over to Dárá, opened the camp of the latter in the front to receive them. This enabled Aurungzebe to advance upon it with his whole force; while the party which had gained the summit of the mountain showed themselves above the camp, the hills re-echoing with their shouts and with the deafening sound of the stones and loosened rocks they threw down. Dárá's army was afeared; swords on one side and rocks on another spread a general panic; and, while some

fought, many fled. Dárá in confusion retreated with his women from the field, and was soon plundered of everything he had by his own Mahrattá followers. The miseries he endured in his flight were akin to those experienced by Humáyun in his retreat before Shere. Humáyun escaped after his misfortunes in the desert; Dárá was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe by a chief named Jihon Khán, and carried with ignominy through Delhi, confined, and put to death. Murád and Soliman Sheko were also secretly murdered; and even his own son Mahomed, whose daring disposition rendered him an object of fear to a suspicious father, was kept a close prisoner in Gwálior, before Aurungzebe felt himself perfectly safe on the throne he had secured. Sháh Jehán died in 1666, and removed the last thorn from his side.

CHAPTER XXX.

AURUNGZEBE'S WARS WITH THE RÁJPOOTS.

A.D. 1677 TO 1681.

THE bigotry of Aurungzebe created many difficulties with his Hindu subjects. He revived the *jeziá*, or poll-tax, on the Hindus, and resisted their supplications against it by force. This lost him the attachment of his own Hindu subjects, and gave offence to his Rájpoot feudatories, who, though not directly subordinate to him, had always served him with great fidelity. The disaffection of the Rájpoots culminated on the oppressions exercised by the emperor on the widow and children of Jeswant Sing coming to be generally known. Aurungzebe had always distrusted Jeswant Sing, and, as he could not keep him near his native dominions, had availed himself of a rebellion among the Afgháns to send him and his Rájpoots to Kabool. From that place Jeswant Sing never returned; and when, after his death, his widow and two infants were coming back to Jodpore, Aurungzebe endeavoured to intercept and capture them. Notwithstanding all his efforts to prevent it, they succeeded in forcing a passage through Attock, but only to be shortly after surrounded in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Here the leader of the ránee's escort, Doorga Dás, adroitly obtained leave to send back a part of his forces, together with their women and children, to Jodpore; and he managed to send with them the widow-ránee and her children in disguise, they being represented in the camp by a female-servant and two other children. As the privacy of the Rájpoot female apartments had to be respected this deceit was not long discovered, and when Aurungzebe, for the sake of better security, ordered the removal of his captives to the citadel, a protracted defence of them was maintained by

the Rájpoots to disarm suspicion. The trick was eventually detected; but, seeing that the mishap could not be mended, Aurungzebe affected not to believe that any had occurred, and pertinaciously upheld the pretensions of his actual captives against the rightful heirs.

The Rájpoots, disgusted with this policy, determined to make a joint effort against the emperor, Rájáh Rám Sing of Jeypore only remaining faithful to him. The rest, placing Ráj Sing, Ráná of Oodypore, at their head, collected together to oppose him; whereupon Aurungzebe assembled a large army, and marched against Ajmere. This demonstration had at first the effect that was intended; the Ráná was compelled to make overtures of peace. But the terms offered by him were no sooner agreed to than he broke faith, upon which Aurungzebe determined to put forth all his strength and, once for all, destroy the combination against him. The armies of Bengal and the Deccan were ordered to join him, and the army of Guzerát was directed to co-operate with him from that direction. The successes of the Moguls in the open country were signal; Cheetore, Mundulgurh, Mundisor, Jeerun, and other strongholds were all quickly captured; but the Rájpoots mustered in strength on the crest of the Arávulli mountains, and Aurungzebe, approaching the pass of Dobárri, was unable to enter the valley it led to. To effect a diversion, Akbar, his youngest son, was despatched from Dobárri to Oodypore at the head of fifty thousand men; but he was unable to proceed beyond a few paces, being surrounded and rendered helpless amid the intricacies of the mountains. His position now became exceedingly critical; death menaced his forces in every form, and famine stared before him; and there was no opening at all for retreat. The commiseration of Jaya Sing, the eldest son of the Ráná, at last induced him to offer peace to the Mogul prince on promise being given that the war would be closed; and guides were then given to him to lead out his forces in the direction of Cheetore. Orme says that it was Aurungzebe himself who was thus enclosed, and then allowed to depart; also, that his favourite

Circassian wife was similarly surrounded and then liberated. Be that as it may, the promise given to the Rájpoots was not kept, for the war was continued.

In the intricate gorges of the mountains the Rájpoots were everywhere victorious. Besides the success at Dobárri, a detachment under Delere Khán was entirely destroyed after having entered the Dáisoori Pass. At Poorh Mandel, a Rájpoot chief, named Sáwal Dás, also gave a detachment under Khán Rohillá a signal defeat; while Prince Bheem made a powerful diversion by the invasion of Guzerát, where several towns were taken. For all these defeats the Moguls took ample vengeance on the plains, burning and destroying the whole country, and even carrying off women and children.

The outrages perpetrated by the Moguls completely alienated the Rájpoots from their faithfulness; and they began to retaliate even in the open country as well as they could with a force of twenty-five thousand men, which was especially employed for that purpose. This work was intrusted to Dyál Sháh, the civil minister of Oodypore, who ravaged Málwá and made it a desert, and, joining Jaya Sing, gave battle to Prince Ázim at Cheetore, and totally defeated him. Akbar was similarly defeated by Rájáh Bheem. Nor did the Rájpoots depend on force only. Doorga Dás met artifice by artifice, and not only undermined the fidelity of the Mogul troops, but succeeded in securing the co-operation of Prince Akbar himself by proclaiming him Emperor of India. The army under Akbar amounted at this time to seventy thousand men, and the position of Aurungzebe by his defection necessarily became unpleasant and perilous. But where others mined he undermined, and he soon succeeded in reclaiming the troops to their allegiance by practising on their fears, upon which Akbar, left alone with the Rájpoots, was obliged to seek an asylum with the Mahrattás, in the Concan, whence he was subsequently conveyed in an English ship to Persia: so much did he apprehend the vengeance of his father. In the meantime the war in Rájasthán was continued, and, though the

Moguls were generally successful, the Rájpoots remained obdurate and unsubdued. Nowhere were the Moguls ever so checkmated as in Rájasthán; nowhere did they receive stronger return-blows from their enemies. They continued their ravages with fiendish cruelty; but these were generally requited by the Rájpoots in the same style. For every Hindu temple that was desecrated the Rájpoots plundered a mosque, burning the Korán and despoiling the *moollahs* in return for the excesses practised by the Moguls on their priests. At last, both Aurungzebe and the Ráná of Oodypore became equally anxious to terminate the struggle, and a peace was concluded by which the *jeziá* was abandoned for the cession of a small territory as penalty for the assistance the Rájpoots had rendered to Akbar in his revolt. The terms included, on the other hand, the surrender to the Rájpoots of the districts taken during the war in Jodpore and Cheetore: and thus a seeming but no real harmony was secured. The western Rájpoots still continued in arms; and all Rájpootáná maintained more or less a hostile and defiant attitude up to the end of Aurungzebe's reign.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WARS OF SIVÁJEE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

A.D. 1646 TO 1700.

WE turn now to notice the great convulsions which were caused by the Mahrattás in the Deccan during the reigns of Sháh Jehán and Aurungzebe. The country of the Mahrattás is mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus as Mahárástra, whence the name of the people is derived; but for a long time they were better known by the familiar designation of *Burgees*, which was almost synonymous to that of freebooters. They were not known at all as a political community till the time of Sivájee, the grandson of Málojee Bhonslá, who held a command of five thousand horse in the service of the Mahomedan Rájáh of Ahmednugger, and was particularly distinguished for his robberies. Like the rest of his family Sivájee imbibed an early love of adventure of the bandit type, and was suspected of sharing in all the more extensive depredations committed in the Concan. These practices and his hunting expeditions made him familiar with every path and defile throughout the Ghâts, and also well-acquainted with their wild inhabitants; and with knowledge and adherents of this description he soon found fitting work for himself. He first acquired possession of a hill-fort, named Torná, on the south-west of Pooná, and then, usurping a *jyghere* which had been held by his father, Sháhjee, under the government of Beejápore, gradually extended his power. Finally, he found himself strong enough to revolt against Beejápore, and then, surprising the governor of North Concan, took possession of that country.

He now began to amplify his plans of aggrandizement, and, assassinating a Hindu Rájáh, who held the hilly country

south of Pooná, from the Ghâts to the Krishtná, seized upon his territory. When Aurungzebe, then prince, came to the Deccan in 1655, Sivájee affected to be a servant of the Mogul government, and, making his submission, obtained a confirmation of his possessions. He next murdered Afzul Khán, who was sent against him from Beejápore, and then overran all the country near the Ghâts, and took possession of the hill-forts. The king of Beejápore afterwards took the field against him in person, but was not able to stand fast long: and, when peace was concluded with Sivájee, he was left in possession of all his conquests.

The troops of Sivájee already numbered fifty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, and he now ventured to seek open rupture with the Moguls and ravaged all the country up to Aurungábad. Shaistá Khán was sent to operate against him, and occupied Pooná; but Sivájee surprised him there at night, wounded him, cut to pieces his son and many of his attendants, and then ran off: after which he plundered Surát. The inroads into the Mogul dominions now became very frequent; but what exasperated Aurungzebe most was a maritime exploit by which some Mogul ships conveying pilgrims to Meccá were captured. A large army under Jaya Sing was sent to chastise Sivájee for these offences; whereupon he hastened to surrender himself, professing the humblest contrition and fidelity.

Sivájee and his son Sámbajee were now taken under escort to Delhi, under general promises of advancement in the imperial service; but the reception they received from Aurungzebe was so cold and haughty that the Mahrattá chief was deeply chagrined, and, returning scorn for scorn, left the presence. It is said that the daughter of Aurungzebe betrayed a love for the daring adventurer, and that Sivájee having demanded her hand was ordered out of the palace. Perceiving that his motions were watched, Sivájee met deceit by deceit, and at last contrived to escape together with his son, in hampers used for the conveyance of sweetmeats and fruits; after which he passed on to Mathoorá, and thence to the Deccan. Once more at large he did not cease to ply

the Moguls with affected professions of fidelity; and obtained peace with Aurungzebe on very favourable terms, the emperor being equally anxious to quiet his suspicions. A large portion of the territory before held by him was restored, a new *jyghere* was granted to him in Behár, and his title of *Rájáh* was acknowledged.

After this, Sivájee turned his arm on Beejápore and Golcondá, both of which were compelled to pay tribute to him. He then gave his own people a regular government, and, though himself no better than a captain of banditti, introduced a system more strict and methodical than was known to the Moguls. Aurungzebe could not look on all this with apathy, and schemed earnestly to entrap him again; but Sivájee was too sagacious to be caught twice. A renewal of war was the necessary consequence, and Sivájee anticipated it by surprising Singhar, a place near Pooná, which had formerly belonged to him, and which was now recovered. He then ravaged the Mogul territories as far as Kándeish, and levied the *chout*, or tribute of one-fourth of the revenue, on the people. An army of forty thousand men was sent by Aurungzebe under Mohábet Khán to put a stop to these incursions and thoroughly reconquer the Deccan. But Sivájee, grown bold by success, did not hesitate to meet it in the open field, and defeated a large detachment of twenty thousand men, upon which Mohábet was recalled, and Khán Jehán appointed to succeed him.

But Khán Jehán was not strong enough to prosecute active hostilities against the Mahrattás; while Sivájee augmented his power still further by the conquest of Beejápore, after which he was crowned king at Ráighur. He had now for some time made no depredations on the Mogul territories, and this being imputed to weakness, encouraged the Moguls to enter and ravage the Mahrattá country. They had soon reason to repent that they did so, for the Mahrattás retaliated by penetrating at once into Kándeish, Berár, and Guzerát, as far as Baroach, where they, for the first time, crossed the Nermuddá. Aurungzebe was baffled and dis-

tracted by these incessant raids, as Sivájee, after devastating his fairest provinces, always succeeded in screening himself behind his inaccessible hills. Sivájee also personally conducted an expedition into the south of India; and taking the fortresses of Jinjee and Vellore, recovered a *jyghere* in Mysore which had belonged to his father.

Much embarrassment was caused to Sivájee after this by the desertion of his son Sámbajee, who, having been punished by his father for his debaucheries, went over to the Moguls, and was played off by them against him. But Sámbajee was only too glad to return when he found Aurungzebe bent on keeping him a prisoner; and, his son set at large, Sivájee freely indulged himself again and again in invading and laying waste the Mogul provinces. He was recalled from these expeditions by the ráják of Beejápore, to aid him against the Mogul general Delere Khán, who had laid siege to his capital. The assistance asked for was cordially rendered, and for it Sivájee received a large price, namely, all the territory between the Toomboodrá and the Krishtná, which materially augmented his power.

Having thus established the Mahrattá kingdom Sivájee died in 1680, when Aurungzebe paid his memory a just tribute by exclaiming that "He was indeed a great general, and the only one who had the magnanimity to found a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India." His death gave rise to a contest for the throne between his two sons, Sámbajee and Rájárám. At last Sámbajee succeeded, and under him the Mahrattá army attained a rapid increase of strength and power. But the chief himself soon got entangled in his debaucheries, by which the wealth of Sivájee was squandered and the fame of the Mahrattá name tarnished. At this juncture Aurungzebe arrived personally in the Deccan, with the primary object of reducing Beejápore and Golcondá, and the secondary object of capturing Sámbajee. Beejápore was first attacked by Prince Ázim, while Aurungzebe proceeded towards Ahmednugger. This

gavè Sámbajee an opportunity to ravage the country in the emperor's rear. The failure of Ázim compelled Aurungzebe to invest Beejápore himself, and the town being distressed for provisions was forced to yield, whereupon Aurungzebe destroyed it completely, and abolished the monarchy with Vandal rage. He had intermediately made peace with Golcondá, which was now broken without a pretext, except that the king was denounced as a protector of infidels. A brave defence of the place was made for seven months, after which it was betrayed, when it was destroyed in the same manner as Beejápore. The effect of these conquests was to liberate the Páthán and mercenaries who had hitherto served the kings of Beejápore and Golcondá, and to compel them to join the Mahrattás, or plunder on their own account; and this gave rise to a train of vexations and disasters which followed Aurungzebe to the grave. Sámbajee, however, was early captured, having been surprised by one of the Mogul generals in one of his pleasure-houses, and was cruelly put to death by Aurungzebe for having exasperated him by his blasphemy.

The animosity of the Mahrattás was now raised to a high pitch; but the overwhelming force of Aurungzebe shut out all hopes of resistance for the time. The emperor pressed his advantage by sending a detachment to besiege Ráighur, where Sáhoo, the infant son of Sámbajee, had been proclaimed king, with Rájárám for regent. The fortress, after holding out for some months, was taken; upon which Rájárám escaped to Jinjee, where he assumed the title of rájáh himself, Sáhoo having become a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls. Thus did the Mahrattás create an internal quarrel for themselves, at the same time that they were sore beset by their external enemies. Aurungzebe despatched an army under Zulfikar Khán to reduce Jinjee; but all the Mahrattá country rose up against the invaders, and harassed them by desultory operations under independent leaders. Zulfikar Khán was absolutely unable to do anything, and reported to the emperor that his army was insufficient to invest, far less to

reduce, a place so strong as Jinjee. A fresh army was sent under Prince Kámbaksh to co-operate with Zulfikar; but the generals fell out with each other, and no progress was made. The quarrel at last assumed such proportions that the prince was placed under restraint by Zulfikar, upon which Aurungzebe moved southward in person, expressing his total disapproval of Zulfikar's proceedings. Kámbaksh was released by Aurungzebe; but the sole command of the army was left with Zulfikar, a discontented chief who, to some extent, was also disaffected. He renewed the siege, but so protracted the operations as to raise the indignation of Aurungzebe; when, to avoid being recalled with disgrace, the capture of Jinjee was effected, but not till Rájárám had received fair time for escape. Shortly after Rájárám died, and was succeeded, first by a son, named Sivájee II., and afterwards by another son, named Sámbajee II., both under the regency of his widow Tárá Bye. Sáhoo, the rightful ráják, was still a prisoner with the Moguls, and was not released till a later day, when Ázimooshán and Báhádur Sháh contended for the throne.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SUBSEQUENT MAHRATTÁ WARS.

A.D. 1700 TO 1720.

THE genius of Sivájee formed the Mahrattás into a nation: the persistent efforts of Aurungzebe and his successors to stamp them out animated them with one spirit, and made the nation powerful in spite of every endeavour to prevent it. The death of Rájárám did not in any way affect the plan devised by Aurungzebe for reducing the country; and in four or five years he succeeded in capturing all the principal forts which had been held by the Mahrattás. But the entire nation was now banded together, and began to multiply as the Mogul armies began to decrease. Several detachments appeared under independent leaders, and, after defeating Zulfikar Khán in the Deccan, they spread over Málwá, and even entered Guzerát. Their predatory incursions were everywhere felt, as the towns were pillaged and the fields ravaged, and what could not be carried off was always burnt down. In a short time they began to recover the forts which the Moguls had taken from them; and the Mogul grand-army, reduced to the greatest distress, was at last obliged to retreat to Ahmednuggur, in a state of complete exhaustion.

The opportune death of Aurungzebe at this moment still further aided the Mahrattá cause, by bringing on a fierce contest for succession between the princes Moázzim and Ázim. A bloody battle decided the struggle in favour of the former, who succeeded under the title of Báhádur Sháh; but he had still to fight with Kámbaksh, who had intermediately revolted. When these troubles were ended, Báhádur Sháh proceeded deliberately against the Mahrattás, and commenced by upholding the side of Tárá Bye and

Sámbajee II. against Sáhoo, the rightful heir, who, hitherto a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, had been set at liberty by Prince Ázim. But the national cause under Sáhoo was strongly maintained, and was eventually triumphant; and peace had to be concluded with him upon terms which permitted the levy of the *chout* by the Mahrattás in the Deccan, it being only stipulated that it should be collected by the agents of the Mogul government without the interference of the Mahrattás.

These conditions were subsequently evaded when Chin Kilich Khán succeeded to the government of the Deccan. The internal feud of the Mahrattás was still raging with great bitterness, and Kilich fomented it by helping the weaker side. But he was soon removed from his post, and was succeeded by Hossein Áli, when the wind veered again, and the Mahrattás, taking the offensive, ravaged the Mogul territories as they had done before, and, seizing upon villages within Mogul limits, turned them into sallying centres, whence they plundered the adjoining districts. A strenuous effort was made by the Mogul Government to repress these inroads, and a strong detachment was sent to oppose Dabári, the principal leader of the Mahrattás, who retreated before it in regular Mahrattá fashion, dispersing his forces in small parties in the hilly country, to reunite again wherever the Mogul army found it most difficult to assemble in strength. The result was that the Mogul detachment was cut up, not even one person being allowed to escape till he was stripped of his horse, arms, and clothes. This virtually terminated the Mahrattá war. The Moguls were now only too glad to come to terms, and Hossein Áli concluded a treaty acknowledging Sáhoo's right over the whole territory formerly possessed by Sivájee, with the addition of all later conquests. He further restored to him all the forts which the Moguls had taken and had not yet given back; recognised the right of the Mahrattás to levy *chout* over the whole of the Deccan; and engaged, on behalf of the Mogul Government, to make a further payment of one-tenth of the revenue under the name of *Sirdesmuki*. In return

Sáhoo agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees to the emperor, and to furnish a contingent of fifteen thousand horse to preserve the tranquillity of the country. The treaty was so disgraceful that Ferokshere refused to ratify it; but, ratified or not, the Mahrattás were quite able to enforce the concession they had extorted.

The subsequent consolidation of the Mahrattá power was effected by Bálájee Viswánáth, the minister of Sáhoo, and the founder of the Bráhman dynasty of the Peishwás, a title previously created by Sivájee himself. After the death of Ferokshere, Bálájee obtained from Mahomed Sháh the ratification of the treaty concluded by Hossein Áli, while he also destroyed all opposition to Sáhoo's authority by the adherents of Sámbajee II. For these services Bálájee was made Peishwá, and, being succeeded in the office by an able son, Bájee Ráo I., the Mahrattá power was by them thoroughly consolidated. Sáhoo's right over the whole of the Mahrattá country was now acknowledged even by Sámbajee II., who agreed to become rájáh of Kolápore, which, with the adjacent country, was made over to him.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RISE OF THE SIKH POWER IN THE PUNJÁB.

A.D. 1709 TO 1716.

THE most important event of the reign of Báhádur Sháh was the development of the Sikh community, which led to a war with the Punjáb. The original appearance of this people was as a religious sect, not seeking any political position or authority. Its founder was Nának, a disciple of Kabir, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and maintained that the worship of God was not affected by the distinctions of race and creed, and that necessarily the devotions of the Hindu and the Mahomedan were equally efficacious. This universal toleration contributed very much to increase the number of his followers, which in time attracted the notice of the Mahomedan Government, by whom the eighth *guru* in succession was persecuted and put to death, in the reign of Jehángire. Baptized in blood, the Sikhs, who had hitherto been very inoffensive, now changed their character; and, taking up arms under Hur Govind, their ninth *guru*, gave much trouble to their rulers, till they were eventually expelled from the neighbourhood of Láhore and kept confined within the northern mountains.

In the seventeenth century, Guru Govind, the grandson of Hur Govind, formed them into a religious and military commonwealth, and laid down for their guidance a religious and legal code. They continued, as before, to admit all converts without reference to race distinctions; but each convert had now to take the vow of a soldier and adopt a soldier's life. The followers of Guru Govind thus came daily to increase in hardihood; but, being still unequal to the Mahomedans, were, after a long struggle, defeated by

them, while all their strongholds were captured. The mother and children of Guru Govind were killed by the victors, and his misfortunes so told on him that he was at last obliged to accept a small command in the Mogul service.

Guru Govind was murdered by a private enemy; but his religious belief survived him. In the reign of Báhádur Sháh the chief of the Sikhs was Bandu, an ascetic, who called upon his followers to come out of their retreat, and overran the east of the Punjáb, committing the greatest atrocities. The Mahomedan mosques were destroyed and the *moollálıs* butchered; whole towns were massacred, including women and children; and the dead bodies everywhere were cast to birds and beasts of prey, to be devoured. Grown bolder by these depredations they even ventured to attack the governor of Sirhind, and defeated him in a pitched battle, after which they passed eastward as far as Sáhárunpore, their entire route being marked by blood. At this last place they received a check, which obliged them to fall back upon the country beyond the Sutledge, between Loodiáná and the mountains; but, unable to remain idle long, they again appeared to ravage the country, on one side up to Láhore, and on the other as far as Delhi. This last inroad drew out Báhádur Sháh in person against them; and he succeeded in driving them back with great slaughter to their hills, while Bandu, who sought refuge in a fort, was vigorously besieged. The fort was eventually taken; but, a desperate sally having been made by the garrison, Bandu effected his escape. A detachment was now especially employed to watch the Sikhs, and their depredations were in this way checked to some extent for a time.

They again mustered strong in the reign of Feroksheré, when Bandu was able to defeat the imperial troops, and ravaged the same extent of country as before. An army was sent against them under Abdoos Summud, by whom they were repeatedly defeated, and Bandu and his chief adherents made prisoners. These were paraded through the streets all the way to Delhi, and were there cruelly put to

death—Bandu being torn to pieces with hot pincers. The rest were hunted down everywhere like wild beasts; and this deferred the consolidation of the Sikh power to a later era. Under the house of Timour the Sikhs never flourished to the same extent as they did after its decline, during which eventful period, in the general scramble for power among all comers, they formed themselves into a great nation, and established an independent kingdom. This career of aggrandizement was opened by a chief named Charat Sing, was pursued with still greater success by his son Mahá Sing, and was finally completed by the great Runjeet.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE INVASION OF NÁDIR SHÁH.

A.D. 1738-39.

THE death of Báhádur Sháh was followed by a civil contest between his four sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the throne under the title of Jehándar Sháh. After a reign of eighteen months he was deposed in favour of his nephew, Ferokshere, who reigned six years. Then followed the brief reigns of Refia-ad-Derját and Refia-ad-Dowláh, the first of three months and the second of a few days; after which Mahomed Sháh, the grandson of Báhádur, was made king. During these dissensions the imperial power was very much curtailed, the governors of provinces assuming independence; among whom were Ásaph Jáh, the viceroy of the Deccan, who had assumed the name of Nizám-al-moolk, and Sádat Áli Khán, the governor of Oude. The Mahrattás also extended their conquests and tributary exactions in northern and western Hindustán, and, founding the houses of Scindiá, Holkár, and the Guicowár, carried their depredations to the very gates of Ágrá.

The confusion throughout the period was so great that the authority exercised by the crown, even where it was acknowledged, was virtually nominal. This was observed by Nádir Kooli, otherwise called Nádir Sháh, the greatest warrior of Persia, who was at this moment engaged in repressing the Ghiljis of Afghánistán, and in reconquering Kandahár from them. It is said that he was invited over to India by the disaffected *omráhs* of Delhi, among whom was Nizám-al-moolk, who expected to secure for himself the viceroyalty of India under the Persian throne. The plea of the invasion was the indifference of the Court of Delhi to

the request of Nádir for the seizure or expulsion from India of some Afghán chiefs who had fled thither from Ghazni. It was the plea of the wolf against the lamb, for the Indian Government, even if it had wished it, was not strong enough to comply with the demand. Nádir also complained that a special envoy sent by him with the above representation had, with his whole retinue of chiefs and followers, been killed by the governor of Jellálábád. But this complaint was also idle, because the governor of Jellálábád was, at this time, virtually independent of the puppet-sovereign of Delhi.

The invader commenced his march from Kandahár *viâ* Kábool, Jellálábád, and Peshawár, at the head of an army estimated by some at one hundred and sixty and by others at seventy thousand men. All opposition on the route was easily overcome by him, and the Indus crossed by the end of 1738. Mahomed Sháh moved to Karnál to oppose him with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand horse and some irregular infantry, and was there joined by Sádat Khán, one of the conspirators against his authority, with thirty thousand men. An attempt on the part of the Persians to intercept Sádat Khán and his forces brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. The Mogul army was divided into three bodies and extended a great length on the field, which gave to Mahomed Sháh an assurance of victory. But Nádir was used to greater odds, had a contempt for the enervated soldiers of India, and was besides certain of traitors in the Indian camp. He was therefore very far from being disheartened at the opposition he met with. The attack was commenced by the Persians with wild impetuosity; but, a spirited resistance being offered, the first shock was equally violent on both sides. Dowrán, the general of Mahomed Sháh, was well-skilled in the art of war, and kept his ground with an obstinacy by which Nádir was all but defeated. But, unfortunately for the Mogul army, Dowrán was soon killed, and then everything was quickly thrown into confusion both by treachery and

despair. The loss of the Moguls was so great that Mahomed, though still unsubdued, put the best face on the matter and hastened to throw himself on the clemency of the invader, preferring to trust an open enemy than the specious friends by whom he was surrounded. He was received by Nádir with great courtesy, and assured that it was not his intention to deprive him of the throne of his ancestors. Nádir's only demands were that the expenses of the expedition be paid, and time given to his fatigued army to refresh themselves in Delhi. The army accordingly marched into Delhi and occupied it, every precaution being taken by Nádir for the preservation of discipline among them, and for the protection of the people.

The compensation in money asked for was twenty-five crores of rupees; and this had to be raised by the magistrates by a general tax proportioned to the wealth of each inhabitant. Great general dissatisfaction was the consequence, which was further increased by an outbreak of famine caused by all communication with the country having been cut off. A petty squabble for rice and fowl between the dealers and some Persian soldiers increased into a quarrel, upon which the dealers, being forcibly deprived of their articles, gave out that Nádir had ordered a general pillage; and, when some of the inhabitants proclaimed afterwards that Nádir was dead, the hatred of the mob broke forth in full fury, and several of the Persian soldiers were killed. Nádir, attempting to quell the tumult, was assailed with stones, arrows, and fire-arms from the houses, and one of the chiefs who accompanied him was killed by a pistol-shot, at his side. This enraged him so much that he ordered the cavalry to clear the streets, and the musketeers to scour the terraces and commence a general massacre of the inhabitants. The order was rigidly carried out, and it is said that some one hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand persons were slain, Nádir passing the time in gloomy silence in the little mosque of Rokn-u-Dowláh. His countenance was so dark and terrible that for some time no one ventured to approach him, till at last Mahomed Sháh,

accompanied by some of his *omráhs*, took courage to do so. Nádir sternly asked them what they wanted; upon which Mahomed Sháh burst into tears, while the nobles with one voice beseeched him to spare the city. The open sword in his hand was now sheathed. "For the sake of the prince Mahomed I forgive," exclaimed Nádir, and so perfect was the discipline of his army that the order stopping the massacre was at once obeyed.

But the hands that were forbidden to slay were not prohibited to rob; Nádir's sole object in coming to India was to enrich himself and his followers, and the pillage of the city was leisurely continued. All the wealth in the Imperial treasury, the peacock-throne, the royal wardrobe and armoury were seized upon; the wealth of the great nobles was next as freely appropriated; and, last of all, contributions were levied from the people with every species of cruelty. Great numbers of the inhabitants succumbed under the effects of the usage they received; people suspected of concealing their wealth were brutally tortured; and many died with their own hands to avoid insult and misery. The gates of the city were shut during these days of outrage and oppression, and famine added poignancy to the other afflictions suffered by the inhabitants. An actor now came forward and exhibited a play which tickled the fancy of the invader. "What dost thou want to be done for thee?" inquired Nádir of the playwright. "Oh king! command the gates to be opened that the poor may not perish;" and that which the tears and groans of the multitude could not extort, was conceded to the request of a buffoon.

Nádir marched out of Delhi after a residence in it of fifty-eight days, carrying with him spoils amounting in money to nine millions sterling, besides several millions in gold, silver, and jewellery. Large territorial concessions were also made to him, including Kabool, Táttá, and a part of Mooltán. Before retiring from India he is said to have spat on the beards of two of the great chiefs who had betrayed their country by inviting him, namely, the Nizám-

al-moolk and Sádat Áli. They resolved to kill themselves and wipe out the insult; and Sádat Áli actually did so. But the Nizám, the colder villain of the two, survived both his disgrace and his rival, to found the independent sovereignty of Hyderábád in the Deccan. Another account says that Sádat Khán killed himself because Nádir had spoken to him in terms of great severity about the collection of the *peishcush* demanded by him from the merchants.

The exit of the invader from India was marked by scenes of devastation and misery as fearful as those which had distinguished his onward course. He characterized himself correctly when he said that he had been sent by God against the nations whom He had determined to visit in His wrath.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BATTLE OF PÁNIPUT.

A.D. 1761.

THE Mahrattás attained the zenith of their power during the administration of Bálá Ráo, the son of Bájee Ráo I. The power of Nádir Sháh had struck Bájee Ráo with amazement, and, after the retreat of the invader, he determined so to consolidate the Mahrattá power as to make it the first in India. The same policy was followed by his successor, Bálá Ráo, and between the two they succeeded in organizing a large, well-paid, and well-mounted army, in the place of the predatory bands which had hitherto represented the Mahrattá power. To this army was added a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls, and, the whole authority of the nation being now wielded by the Peishwá, it was soon felt by the surrounding states to be virtually irresistible. The frontiers of the Mahrattá empire came thus to be extended to the Himálayás on the north and the Indus on the north-west, and nearly to the extremity of the peninsula on the south, all the territory within these limits which did not actually belong to them being forced to pay tribute. The reign of the Moguls had already become nominal; it was tolerated only on payment of the *chout:* and it would in a few years have been altogether set aside but for the appearance of a fresh foreign enemy, with whom the Mahomedans hastened to make common cause in defence of their existence.

This foe was Áhmed Sháh Dooráni, a general of Nádir, whom he succeeded as king of Kabool, Táttá, and Mooltán. Five distinct expeditions were conducted by him into India. The first was undertaken in 1747, and contem-

plated the conquest of the Punjáb. It was resisted vigorously by his namesake Áhmed, the heir-apparent of Delhi; and a disastrous accident—the explosion of a magazine—having occurred in the Afghán camp, the Dooráni chief was compelled to draw off his troops and retire. The second invasion was attempted in 1749; but, on this occasion, the invader was bought off by the governor of Mooltán, who offered him the revenue of four districts in the Punjáb, which he accepted. The bribe, however, was not sufficient to satisfy him long; and a third invasion, in 1751, resulted in the formal conquest and annexation of the Punjáb.

Shortly after this, the emperor Áhmed was deposed and blinded by Gháziudeen, the grandson of Ásaph Jáh, who now swayed the destinies of the empire as vizier, and by whom a grandson of Báhádur Sháh was raised to the throne under the name of Álumgire II. Not content with this Gháziudeen also seized by deceit the person of the Dooráni governor of the Punjáb, in the hope of reannexing that province to the empire; and this led to the fourth invasion of India by Áhmed Sháh, in 1754, and to the occupation of Delhi. All the horrors of Nádir's invasion were repeated on this occasion, mainly because Áhmed, less cruel than Nádir, had not the same command over his troops, and could not prevent them from giving full exercise to their rapacity and violence. The place which suffered most was Delhi, and next to it Mathoorá, where, during the height of a religious festival, a general massacre was made, in which a large number of inoffensive people were slain. An extension of operations in the directions of Oude and Ágrá was contemplated, but a mortality breaking out among the Afgháns enforced their retreat.

The retreat of Áhmed Dooráni brought no peace to Delhi, as it restored to it all its internal feuds and disturbances. The invader had appointed Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, a Rohillá chief, commander-in-chief of the empire, intending that he should act as a counterpoise to the power of Gháziudeen; but the latter upset the whole arrangement by calling in the Mahrattás to assist him. This was just

the introduction the Mahrattás were waiting for. They advanced upon Delhi with alacrity to support the vizier, laid siege to the town and took it, and compelled Nujeeb-al-Dowláh to fly. They then proceeded to the Punjáb and recovered possession of it, and concerted with Gháziudeen a plan for the conquest of Oude.

The last scheme was frustrated by the fifth invasion of Áhmed Sháh, in 1760; and further confusion was created by the simultaneous murder of Álumgire II. by Gháziudeen. Sháh Álum, the heir-apparent, was then absent in Bengal, and the operations against the Afgháns were therefore carried on without any ostensible head to direct them. Very little in fact was done by the Moguls to oppose the invaders; and Áhmed Sháh again occupying Delhi laid the city under heavy contributions, the collection of which was enforced with such rigour and cruelty that the inhabitants took up arms in despair. This led to another massacre which lasted for seven days, after which the stench of the dead compelled the invaders to retire.

They now proceeded against the Mahrattás, who were nearly thirty thousand strong in Upper India, but divided into two bodies located at a distance from each other, and commanded separately by Jánokijee Scindiá and Mulhár Ráo Holkár. The hatred of the people towards the Mahrattás kept them in such ignorance of the movements of the Dooráni that both the divisions were successively surprised by him, defeated, and almost wholly destroyed.

The ruler of the Mahrattás at this time was Bálá Ráo, who led an easy life, the affairs of government being managed by Sudáseo Bháo, his home-minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan. The conquest of Hindustán having been determined upon by him, the operations had been intrusted to Raghoonáth Ráo, commonly called Rághobá, aided by Mulhár Ráo and Jánokijee Scindiá acting under him. They were so far successful that several territories were acquired and the *chout* was in all places

enforced; but the army under Rághobá falling into arrears of pay, became mutinous, which compelled him to return to the Deccan. The management of Rághobá was thereupon adversely criticised by the Bháo, a Mahrattá army being always expected to find its own pay; and, as Rághobá resented the remarks levelled against him, the return expedition into Hindustán had to be commanded by the Bháo himself, who carried Viswás Ráo, the son of Bálá Ráo, with him as nominal commander.

Áhmed Sháh Dooráni was cantoned on the banks of the Ganges when he heard of the advance of Sudáseo Bháo; and, as the Mahrattás made no secret of their wish to conquer the whole of Hindustán and extirpate the Mahomedans, he was there joined, not only by Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, but by all the Páthán and Rohillá chiefs, with their forces. Even the nawáb of Oude, hitherto the least favourably disposed towards Áhmed Sháh, was prevailed upon by Nujeeb-al-Dowláh to join the Dooráni cause, on the plea that it would be improper for him as a Mahomedan either to join the Mahrattás in their war against Mahomedans, or to remain indifferent: and thus the cause of Áhmed Sháh became as that of the Mahomedans against the Hindus, the war assuming the character of one for nationality and faith.

The Bháo, on his side, was joined by Surya Mul, the chief of the Játs, who brought a reinforcement of thirty thousand men; but Sudáseo exercised his authority so offensively that not only Surya Mul, but even his own Mahrattá generals, were very soon disgusted with his Bráhman pride. The advice of both Mulhár Ráo and Surya Mul was that the operations against the Afgháns be confined at the outset simply to harassing them in the usual Mahrattá fashion, till the return of the hot weather compelled them to retire of themselves, leaving an easy conquest to the Mahrattás. But the Bháo, being anxious to obtain reputation as a warrior, rejected the suggestion with haughtiness, remarking tauntingly of Mulhár Ráo that he had outlived his activity and understanding, and of

Surya Mul that he was only a zemindár from whom greater courage was not to be expected. Surya Mul was so angry that he wished to desert at once; but Mulhár Ráo dissuaded him from doing so, at the same time that he despised to resent the insult offered to himself.

Ágrá was first occupied by Sudáseo Bháo, and after it Delhi, the latter being retained as the capital on which the throne of the Mahrattás was to be established. The Afgháns simultaneously occupied Anupshuhur. Affecting a moderation he did not actually entertain, the Bháo now proposed to settle differences amicably, and offered the Dooránis all the country between Afghánistán and Láhore, if they would march back to their own country in peace, leaving the rest of Hindustán to be occupied by the Mahrattás. But the offer was not an honest one, and nothing came of the negotiations, as neither party would agree to the sovereign name being arrogated by the other.

From Anupshuhur the united Afghán and Moslem army marched out to Sháh-derá, on the banks of the Jumná, but found the river to be impassable during the rains. The total strength of the army amounted to about forty-two thousand horse and thirty-eight thousand foot, with seventy or eighty pieces of cannon and a great number of rockets. There was also a large number of irregulars attached to the camp, who accompanied it mainly for plunder. The Hindu army was somewhat less numerous, counting about fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, with two hundred pieces of cannon and rockets. It included fifteen thousand Pindáris, or freebooters, who were led by their own chiefs, and two or three thousand horse headed by the Ráhtore and Gutchwá vakeels.

As soon as the river fell, the Sháh's army began to cross the Jumná between fording and swimming over it, and it took the men two days for all to pass over. Had the Bháo boldly attacked them at this juncture he would probably have defeated them. But he did not do so, contenting himself by merely moving forward to meet them. For some time after there was nothing but skirmishing, till the

Máhrattás came up to Pániput and intrenched themselves. The Sháh, doubting his ability to attack them, followed their example, encamping at about eight miles from them, where he also intrenched himself. The precautions taken by the two parties were however very dissimilar. Unlike Mahrattá fashion generally, Sudáseo Bháo dug a ditch fifty feet wide and twelve deep around his camp, and raised a rampart which was mounted with cannon; while the Sháh simply surrounded his camp with a breastwork of prostrate timber. An attempt made to cut off the supplies of the Sháh's army was entirely defeated. The Mahrattás succeeded better in the bold attacks they hazarded every now and then against the Afghán camp. In one of these the Holkár, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, broke into the midst of the Afghán intrenchment and cut down two thousand men; in another Bulwant Ráo assailed the Abdáli's vizier in the open field, and three thousand of the Rohillás who came to the rescue fell before Bulwant was slain. But these petty advantages were more than made up by the vigilance with which the Sháh watched his enemies, who were so beset that a great scarcity of provisions and forage was soon felt in their camp, which in a manner compelled the Bháo to commence the fight. The armies were drawn up in divisions, the Mahrattá divisions being eight in number, namely, those under (1) Ibrahim Khán Gardee, (2) Ámájee Guicowár, (3) Seo Deo Pátul, (4) Sudáseo Bháo and Viswas Ráo, (5) Jeswant Ráo Poár, (6) Shumshere Báhádoor, (7) Mulhár Ráo, and (8) Jánokijee Scindiá. The Dooráni divisions were eleven, namely, those under (1) the Sháh himself, (2) Berkhordár Khán, (3) Ámeer Beg, (4) Doondy Khán, (5) Háfiz Ráhmut Khán, (6) Áhmed Khán Bungaish, (7) the Grand-Vizier, (8) the nawáb of Oude, (9) Nujeeb-al-Dowláh, (10) Sháh Pussund Khán, and (11) the division of the Persian musketeers. The action was commenced by Ibrahim Khán Gardee attacking the divisions of Doondy Khán and Háfiz Ráhmut Khán. Ibrahim was well supported by Ámájee Guicowár, and the contest was obstinate till the Rohillás prevailed.

The Bháo and Viswas Ráo next charged the grand-vizier, while Nujeeb-al-Dowláh was opposed by his mortal enemy, Jánokijee Scindiá. After this the action became general, and great prodigies of valour were displayed on both sides. The close and violent attack lasted for nearly an hour, during which the combatants on both sides fought promiscuously with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. "Hur! Hur! Mahádeo!" was the Mahrattá cry of defiance; and terribly was it answered by the fanatic cry of "Deen! Deen!" which we, in our day, have so often heard in India. At last Viswas Ráo was killed, upon which the whole Mahrattá army was so dispirited that it fled at full speed from the field, leaving on it heaps of the slain. Áhmed Sháh rode round the field the following morning and counted thirty-two heaps of the dead, besides which all the ditches and jungles around it, and to a considerable distance from it, were full of them. The chiefs who escaped destruction were Mulhár Ráo, Ámájee Guicowár, and Seo Deo Pátul. Holkár alone, it was thought, did not put forth his whole strength in the battle, because of the insults he had received from the Bháo. He left the field just after the Bháo had pierced into the thickest of the fight, where he made amends for every misbehaviour and mistake by dying a soldier's death, his headless trunk being found hacked with innumerable wounds. The superior generalship of Holkár enabled him to extricate his party when all was lost, and to fly without being pursued. The Mahrattá power was by this defeat completely broken for the time, though not altogether annihilated; while the Mogul power was both broken and extinguished for ever, its vast territories being split up into petty states. At a later period the Mahrattás were again able to recover Delhi for Sháh Álum; but not long after he fell into the hands of Golám Kádir, a Rohillá, by whom he was blinded. Again was Delhi taken by the Mahrattás under Scindiá, and the person of Sháh Álum secured, which enabled them to arrogate the supreme authority in India, till Delhi was taken by the English in 1803, and the farce finally terminated.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH.

A.D. 1746 TO 1761.

THE English settlement of Madráspátám, or Madrás, on the Coromandel Coast, was founded, with the permission of the king of Golcondá, in 1639. The French settlement of Pondicherry was of later growth, having been originally founded at Alamparvá, in 1678, and afterwards more vigorously established at Pondicherry, in 1683. As the distance between the rival settlements was about one hundred miles only, it was not very long before the two nations found themselves involved in perpetual contests with each other in the east as in the west, till one of them had to go to the wall.

Their first great contest occurred in 1746, when, war having been declared between them in Europe, a French fleet under Labourdonnais attacked the British settlement and forced it to capitulate. The troops landed by the French were little short of two thousand men, while the English garrison counted two hundred soldiers only, besides a piebald population of Portuguese Indians, Syrian Christians, and Jews, all quite unaccustomed to arms. The governor therefore thought best to surrender after a bombardment of five days; upon which the French Admiral agreed to ransom both the town and his prisoners for a compensation of 100,000 pagodas. This agreement, however, did not find favour with Monsieur Dupleix, the French Governor at Pondicherry, who claimed supreme authority over all French affairs in India; and, declaring it to be invalid, he forcibly held the garrison—which included Clive—as prisoners, and also plundered the settlement.

The English still possessed the settlement of Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast, and the agents of the East India Company there being found to be active and alert in the furtherance of English interests, Dupleix resolved to close the rival shop by attacking it, and sent against it a European force of seventeen hundred men. The English garrison at the place was only three hundred strong; but they defended themselves vigorously to escape the fate of Madrás, and obtained the aid of the nawáb of the Carnatic in repelling their enemies. The position of the native princes in southern India at this time was as follows: A great part of India, we have elsewhere stated, never acknowledged any subjection to the throne of Delhi till the reign of Aurungzebe, and even at and after that period Bengal and the Deccan were virtually independent, being governed by viceroys who exercised all but absolute powers. The viceroy of the Deccan especially, was semi-independent, and held seven large provinces under him to which he appointed nawábs, or subordinate rulers; and the Cárnatic was one of these provinces.

The nawáb of the Cárnatic assisted the English with ten thousand men; and the French were obliged to retreat before them. But the friends thus gained were soon bought over by Dupleix, and changed sides; and, a demonstration made on Pondicherry by an English fleet under Admiral Boscawen proving unsuccessful, the English had to succumb with a bad name—their prestige being lost for the time with the native states. There is no doubt that, at this time, the English might have been driven out of India for good by the French, if the latter had not been influenced in their operations by the events in Europe. Madrás was recovered by the English only in consequence of the peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748.

The simultaneous death shortly after of the nawáb of the Cárnatic and the subadár or viceroy of the Deccan, under whom the nawábship was held, gave rise to considerable confusion in the native states, which again placed the English and the French in opposition to each other. The

dominions of the nawáb were seized on his death by one Chundá Sáheb, a relative of the family, to the exclusion of Mahomed Áli, the rightful heir; while the subadárship of the Deccan was contended for by a son and a grandson of the deceased viceroy, named respectively, Názir Jung and Mozuffer Jung. Of these latter rivals Mozuffer Jung befriended Chundá Sáheb, and was supported by the French; upon which the English took up the side of Názir Jung and Mahomed Áli.

A mutiny in the French army depriving Mozuffer Jung of its support for a time, Názir Jung at first became subadár of the Deccan, and Mahomed Áli, nawáb of the Cárnatic. But this arrangement was upset on the English quarrelling with Mahomed Áli about the payment of their troops, advantage of which was taken by the French to attack both Mahomed Áli and Názir Jung, and the latter being murdered by one of his own chiefs, Mozuffer Jung became subadár, and Chundá Sáheb nawáb of the Cárnatic. Dupleix was, at the same time, declared Governor of Southern India, from Cape Comorin to the Kristná river, besides which he was appointed to the command of seven thousand horse under the subadár, which was accounted as one of the highest honours that could be conferred by the latter.

The success of the French filled the English with envy; and the desperate affairs of Mahomed Áli rendering him open to a renewal of alliance with him, they volunteered to assist him in the defence of Trichinopoly, where he was hard-pressed by the forces of Chundá Sáheb and the French. But the assistance given was not of much value; the English soldiers behaved in an exceedingly un-English and cowardly manner; they actually deserted their native allies, who were left to do battle alone. The result was a signal defeat, and retreat within the walls of Trichinopoly for safety, the siege of it being continued by the French. The conduct of the siege was not very vigorous; but, such as it was, the English had neither enterprise nor courage to withstand it.

It was now that the genius of Clive appeared on the scene. He had intermediately got transferred from the civil to the military service of the Company, and now came forward with the bright idea of relieving Trichinopoly by a diversion, and with that object offered to lead an expedition direct to Árcot, the capital of the Cárnatic. The offer was accepted, and he was placed at the head of two hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, and with this small force succeeded in capturing both the town and citadel of Árcot, notwithstanding all the endeavours made by Chundá Sáheb and the French to prevent him. He was then, in his turn, besieged by the French and their allies with a large army of one hundred and fifty Europeans and nine thousand native troops; but he made a gallant defence for fifty days, after which the contest was terminated in favour of the weaker party, the stronger being obliged to raise the siege.

Clive now took the field at the head of two hundred Europeans and seven hundred sepoys. A European party was sent out from Pondicherry against him, but was defeated at Árni; after which he attacked the great pagodá of Conjeverám, where the French maintained a considerable garrison, which was forced to fly. By this time Árcot had been reoccupied by Chundá Sáheb and the French, who extended their raids thence into English territory. Clive therefore repaired to it again, but was held in check by a furious cannonade on his advance-guard, upon which he determined to seize the enemy's artillery, and succeeded in doing so by boldly surprising it behind a thick grove of mango-trees, which so disheartened Chundá Sáheb and his army that they were entirely dispersed.

The next expedition was directed against the French and Chundá Sáheb before Trichinopoly. It was commanded by Major Lawrence in chief, with Clive as second in command, and was fully successful, the French and their allies being obliged to raise the siege, and to remove to the island of Seringham, in the Cáuvery. The English forces were now divided into two bodies, one of which remained

at Trichinopoly under Major Lawrence, while the other under Clive proceeded to cut off the communication between Pondicherry and Seringham. An attempt made from Seringham to prevent this was signally defeated; the French at Trichinopoly were also worsted; and, Chundá Sáheb being captured and assassinated by the rájáh of Tanjore, Mahomed Áli was reseated on the *musnud* of Árcot. The English also gained a victory at Báhoor, two miles from St. David, and reduced two forts, named Covelong and Chingleput.

In 1753, a second campaign was opened by Dupleix setting up another rival to Mahomed Áli in Murtezá Khán, the Governor of Vellore. The French army that took the field in support of the new claimant was composed of five hundred European infantry and sixty horse, and two thousand sepoys, aided by four thousand Mahrattá cavalry under Morári Ráo, independent of the large forces still operating before Trichinopoly. The army under Major Lawrence consisted of five hundred Europeans, two thousand sepoys, and three thousand of the nawáb's forces; out of which seven hundred sepoys were employed in searching for supplies. The French force was shortly after still further increased by the addition of large reinforcements from Mysore; and the early operations of Major Lawrence were, for these reasons, generally unsuccessful, though distinguished by exceptional acts of great valour, such as the capture of the "Golden Rock" by the British Grenadiers, notwithstanding that it was occupied by the bulk of the French army. Throughout the contest the provisioning of Trichinopoly was the principal object held in view by the British commander, and this was fully effected though the siege was protracted for a year and a half. When he was afterwards reinforced he was able also to take Wycondáh, a place of great strength. But more decisive advantages were not obtained by either party in this campaign.

In 1754, Mons. Godhen was sent out from France to supersede Dupleix and terminate hostilities with the English. This led to the siege of Trichinopoly being raised,

and to the cessation of all acts of unfriendliness on both sides; and the interval was usefully employed by the English in straightening their affairs in Bengal, where the battle of Plássey was fought in 1757. Intermediately, war was again declared between the two nations in Europe, in 1756; and it was recommenced in the Cárnatic in the spring of 1757, when Trichinopoly being besieged by the French, Capt. Calliaud relieved it with great skill and heroism, compelling an army five times as numerous as his own to raise the siege and retire to Pondicherry. It was at this time that Count Lally, an Irishman, and one of the victors at Fontenoy, was sent out as Governor-General of the French possessions in India, bringing out with him a strong fleet and a fresh body of land forces, mostly Irish—who had fought under him at Fontenoy. This infused new vigour among the French, and an army of two thousand and five hundred Europeans was collected, the most formidable that India had yet seen. Fort St. David was now invested and captured, and that was followed by the reduction of Devicottáh and Cuddalore. An attack on Madrás was also made, and the Black Town carried by assault; but in the plunder a quantity of arrack was found, in which the French soldiers indulged so gloriously that a *sortie* made by the English, from the English part of the town, succeeded beyond all expectations, and put them to flight. The general operations against the settlement were nevertheless continued, the total French force employed in them consisting of six hundred European infantry and three hundred European cavalry, with twelve hundred sepoys and five hundred native horse; while the English garrison numbered one hundred Europeans and two thousand and five hundred sepoys. But the siege, though prolonged for two months, was not successful; and Lally was obliged to raise it on the arrival of Admiral Pococke with reinforcements from Bombay. The English in their turn now became the assailants, and pursuing the French army to Conjeverám, took the place by assault.

The subadár of the Deccan at this moment was Salábut

Jung, whom the French had raised to the *musnud* on the death of Mozuffer Jung. He was absolutely the protégé of the French: but, when Bussy, the French Commander in the Deccan, was recalled by Lally to Pondicherry, a rapid succession of events took place which ruined the interests of the French in the Deccan, and compelled the subadár to solicit a connection with the English. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circárs, drove the French entirely out of them; and a petty rájáh named Anunderáj, having attacked and taken possession of Vizigápatám, offered his conquest to the English, which was occupied by a detachment sent to it by Clive, which defeated the French at Peddápore, and again at Másulipatám, the fort at the latter place being taken at the point of the bayonet. As a result of these victories the entire territory dependent on Másulipatám was made over to the English by Salábut Jung, who at the same time renounced the French alliance. Some naval engagements also took place between the English fleet under Pococke and the French fleet under D'Aché, but none of a very decisive character. The French were more hard-pressed by their pecuniary difficulties and the mutinies which broke out among their troops for want of pay, the chief malcontents being the Irish, who contended that they had accomplished more in battle than the whole of the French troops taken together, and had alone encountered the English with success.

The only triumph gained by the French at this time was the seizure of the island of Seringham; but this they were shortly after obliged to abandon for the defence of Árcot, which Col. Coote pretended to threaten. The French were thus thrown off their guard at Wándewásh, which was assaulted by Coote and carried; after which Caranjaly and other places were also reduced. All the French forces were now concentrated at Árcot, where the two armies faced each other in the commencement of 1760. Lally then attempted the recapture of Wándewásh, while Coote advanced to relieve it. The English army was composed

of nineteen hundred Europeans, two thousand and one hundred sepoys, and twelve hundred and fifty native cavalry. The European force of the French numbered two thousand two hundred and fifty men, and their sepoys thirteen hundred; besides which they had a corps of Mahrattá cavalry in their service, which however did not even approach the field. Numerically, the French army was therefore inferior to the English army opposed to it; but it was at the same time much superior in European strength. On the other hand, the English artillery, consisting of twenty-six field-pieces, was better officered and manned, Lally's engineers and artillery being both equally inferior. His sole reliance in fact was on his Irish infantry and French cavalry—the latter of which proved to be a broken reed. The battle of Wándewásh was the last and best fought action between the two rival nations in India—the great engagement which finally decided the struggle between them for the dominion of the East. Lally fought well, doing full justice to his Fontenoy reputation; but he was early deserted by his cavalry. His infantry rushed madly forward to meet the English, but were beaten back in a most sanguinary and terrible manner. They rallied, and, charging with the bayonet, broke the English line; but, not being supported either by their cavalry or their sepoys, were beaten back again and again, and after a bloody engagement were obliged to fly. The defeat of the French army was complete; but the English were too exhausted to attempt a pursuit. Lally even succeeded in carrying off his wounded and his light baggage in the face of the enemy; but the best portion of his cannon, ammunition, and stores was lost. After this, the fort of Chittápet was carried by the English, and Árcot was invested and restored to the nawáb. Several minor places were also captured, till nothing remained to the French but the strong fort of Jinjee, and the settlement of Pondicherry, the last of which was regularly invested both by sea and land. The garrison at Pondicherry being unable to defend themselves, and at the same time straitened for food, were, after a short, but spirited

resistance, obliged to surrender. The fortresses of Jhiáger and Jinjee were next given up without a fight, which entirely extinguished the French power in the Cárnatic. Máhé and its dependencies on the Malabár Coast were next surrendered, and, by 1761, the French had neither any military force nor local possessions in India beyond their trading factories at Calicut and Surát. Pondicherry and Máhé were subsequently restored to them by the treaty of 1764, and now constitute their sole possessions in India.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ACQUISITION OF BENGAL AND BEHÁR.

A.D. 1756 TO 1765.

THE English factories in Bengal were consolidated, and a fortress built at Calcuttá with the permission of Ázimoo-shán, grandson of Aurungzebe, between 1695 and 1700. In 1756, Áli Verdy Khán, the best subadár of Bengal, died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Mirza Mahomed, better known by his assumed name of Soorájá-Dowláh. The new subadár was known to entertain unfavourable feelings towards the English, and it is said that those feelings were derived from his grandfather, who, notwithstanding the moderation of his government, had looked with distrust on the English power. The first offence given to Soorájá-Dowláh by the Company was the non-recognition of an order issued by him for the surrender of one Kissen Dass, the son of his treasurer at Dáccá, who had fled with his family and property to Calcuttá for protection. Shortly after, the nawáb heard that the English were strengthening their fortifications, upon which he sent them a message to desist. The English vindicated their proceedings on the ground of apprehended hostilities with the French; but, the excuse being rejected, the nawáb appeared in arms before the factory at Cossimbazár, and reduced it.

The fall of Cossimbazár filled the garrison at Calcuttá with dismay, as their number amounted only to two hundred men, of whom not more than one-third were Europeans. The place was also ill-protected, the stock of provisions in it was well-nigh exhausted, and the supply of ammunition was insufficient. Assistance was therefore applied for from Madrás; but this necessarily took a long time to come,

while it took no time for the subadár to march down from Cossimbazár to Calcuttá. The emergency was great, and the servants of the Company got frightened; and the higher functionaries, with the females in the settlement, fled for protection to the shipping in the port, and dropped down the river. The rest, thus abandoned to their fate, after vainly endeavouring to call back the ships, defended the settlement as they best could for two days; after which the enemy entered it, and perpetrated the well-known tragedy which has made the name of the Black-Hole infamous and immortal. The Hole however was an English, and not a native place of confinement; so that the English garrison only got "hoist with their own petard." As Mill significantly points out, "Had no Black-Hole existed those who perished in it would have experienced a different fate."

All was lost in Bengal before Madrás knew what had occurred; and when she did know of it, there was disagreement in her council—not as to the course to be pursued, which was agreed upon quickly—but as to the manner in which operations were to be carried out, and in which the prizes expected were to be divided! After much discussion the differences on these points were resolved, and it was determined to send Clive to punish the subadár, vesting him with powers to act independently of the authorities in Calcuttá. The troops placed under Clive amounted to nine hundred Europeans and fifteen hundred sepoys, and were conveyed by a squadron commanded by Admiral Watson, which consisted of five ships-of-war, and five transport-vessels. Two of the ships got separated from the rest in a storm, so that even the whole of the little force sent out was not at once available in Calcuttá. The nawáb threatened to attack it with his whole army; but, before he actually did anything, Calcuttá was occupied by the English, after a two hours' cannonade, the garrison flying before them in dismay. Clive then detached a force to attack Hooghly, and the fleet co-operating in the enterprise, the fort was taken by assault, the enemy offering a poor resistance.

Intermediately, war had been declared between England and France, and, in accordance with his instructions in the event of such a contingency, Clive marched to attack Chandernagore, the fleet under Watson coming alongside of the batteries of the settlement. The tortuous policy of the times does not exhibit this affair in the best light. The French did not side with the nawáb, as they might have done, when Calcuttá was reoccupied by the English; and the English, doubting their strength to take Chandernagore, had concluded a treaty with the French of neutrality and peace. Fresh troops however arrived from Bombay and Madras, before the treaty was signed, and this induced Clive to carry out his original orders; upon which Chandernagore was attacked and taken after an obstinate resistance offered by a garrison of nine hundred Frenchmen.

The game carried on between the nawáb and the English was also of a similar character. The success of Áhmed Sháh Dooráni at Delhi had filled the former with apprehension, it being expected that the invader would extend his conquests to the east and south; and this kept the nawáb quiet during the contest between the English and the French. On the defeat of the latter, his fear of the English power was revived, and he hastened to enter into a treaty with them for restoring their factories, with all the privileges hitherto enjoyed by them, and with many others not accorded before. But these advances were all false and insincere, and they were met by the English in a kindred spirit, by a hypocritical affectation of friendliness for the nawáb, while negociations were being carried on by them with Meer Jáffer, a traitor, who was plotting the destruction of his master. Meer Jáffer promised every concession to the English that they asked for, and the English bound themselves to assist him and drive out Soorájá-Dowláh from the country. Jáffer, however, gave no material assistance in the battle which ensued; though doubtless the English received from him as much moral and

immoral support as they stood in need of. The action at Plássey was fought between the English and the subadár's troops, the latter being well assisted by a small party of French soldiers led by one Mons. Sinfray. The English army consisted of eight hundred Europeans, two thousand and one hundred sepoys, and a small number of Portuguese, with eight field-pieces and two howitzers. The nawáb's army was vast in numbers, being computed by some at fifty-five and by others at sixty-eight thousand men; but most of them were undisciplined recruits. It had fifty guns of the largest calibre, which the forty or fifty Frenchmen in it only knew how to use. The result of the battle therefore was such as might well have been anticipated. The immense host of the nawáb, instead of advancing to attack their enemies, halted and opened a fire on them from a distance; but the guns were worked so badly that not one shot had effect. The Frenchmen worked their field-pieces better; but they were not supported, and, from the smallness of their numbers, could make no impression by themselves. On the other hand, the English artillery replied with fearful effect, and, being at first chiefly directed against the French guns, soon silenced them; after which Clive ordered his whole force to advance, which at once put Soorájá-Dowláh to flight. The little band of Frenchmen fought very bravely, but were soon swept from the field; while the rest of the army hurried from it helter-skelter, in precipitate fear. Thus was the battle of Plássey lost and won. The loss on the side of the English was seventy-two killed and wounded. Of the nawáb's army five hundred perished, chiefly from the effects of the artillery-practice to which we have referred, since not one man waited for closer fight.

Meer Jáffer kept aloof during the engagement to stand well with both parties, but came forward when it was decided, to claim the reward promised to him; upon which Clive saluted him as subadár, being determined to oust Soorájá-Dowláh, who fled in the vain hope of being able to

join the French. The fugitive was discovered by a man whom he had formerly treated with cruelty, and being captured, was killed by order of Meer Jáffer's son.

The battle of Plássey settled the fate of Bengal. It does not concern us to unravel all the political intricacies of the period, which led to the alternate selection of Jáffer and Cossim as subadár. In 1759, the intrigues of the former with the Dutch brought up a powerful armament from Batavia, conveyed in seven ships, to fight with the English. The English had only three merchant-vessels in the port to oppose them, but these were found quite sufficient for the purpose, and after two hours' fighting the Dutch commodore struck his colours, upon which all his ships were captured. The troops landed from the ships had in the meantime been joined by the Dutch garrison at Chinsuráh, and, marching out for battle, were encountered near Bedárrá, by Col. Forde, and completely defeated, though the Dutch army counted eight hundred Europeans and seven hundred Malays, while the English army had only four hundred Europeans and eight hundred sepoys. The battle was so decisive that nearly five hundred prisoners were taken. Chinsuráh, however, was not occupied: it was left to the Dutch on their agreeing to the humiliating conditions dictated to them, of never engaging in war or raising fortifications without English permission, and of never retaining more than one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers for the service of their several factories at Chinsuráh, Cossimbazár, and Pátná.

Meer Jáffer was now deposed from the subadárship on the pretext of nonfulfilment of his engagements with the English, and his son-in-law, Cossim, was raised to replace him. During the troubles which ensued two incursions were made into Bengal from Delhi by Sháh Álum, one as heir-apparent to the throne, and the other after he had succeeded to it as emperor. They were both directed against the subadár, whose promotion to that office had not been recognised by the court of Delhi; but they were mainly resisted and repelled by the English, who supported

the cause of their nominee. The prisoners taken on the second occasion included a party of French soldiers headed by Mons. Law, who had fought with great heroism after being abandoned by the imperial army.

In 1763, Meer Cossim, having been found to be unaccommodating, was, in his turn, deposed, and Meer Jáffer reinstated. But Cossim did not yield without striking a blow; and, on Pátná being captured and Moorshedabad stormed by the English, he drew out his forces in line of battle on the plains of Geriah, near Sootee. The army of Cossim was computed at sixty thousand, while the English army opposed to it scarcely numbered three thousand men. The attack was commenced by the English, in their usual manner; but unlike the usual reception they had hitherto met with, they were now opposed with the greatest obstinacy. For a long time the battle was fought on equal terms, and on one occasion the English line was broken and some guns were captured. But the mishap was soon remedied; and the English renewing their assault with redoubled fury the troops of the nawáb were worsted, and after a desperate conflict defeated at all points and put to flight. In this action a Bengali, named Shitáb Rái, distinguished himself greatly by his gallantry on the English side. The immediate result of the victory was the capture of a large quantity of rice and grain, which met an emergent need. The routed army hurried towards Outánallá, a fort between the river and the hills, which was taken by the English after great slaughter. Monghyr, the capital of Cossim, was next attacked and captured. He was thence pursued to Pátná which was stormed, and his army pursued to the banks of the Karumnássá.

At this time a mutiny broke out among Meer Jáffer's troops and those of the English; but it was put down summarily and with great severity, the offenders being blown away from guns. Meer Cossim having in the meantime found an ally in the vizier of Oude, the next engagement with him was fought at Buxár, in 1764. The British force engaged in the battle consisted of eight

hundred and sixty Europeans, five thousand and three hundred sepoys, and nine hundred native cavalry, with a train of artillery counting twenty field-pieces; while the total force of the enemy was estimated at between forty and sixty thousand men. The action was maintained for three hours, after which the enemy gave way. The British army was divided into two columns to pursue them; but its efforts were frustrated by the vizier sacrificing one portion of his army to preserve the rest. At two miles from the battle-field was a rivulet over which a bridge of boats had been constructed. This the enemy destroyed before the rear had passed over, by which about two thousand of their own men were drowned or otherwise killed: but it saved the main body of the army, together with all the treasure and jewels of both Meer Cossim and the vizier.

The battle of Buxár made the English masters of Behár. The Emperor Sháh Álum, hitherto treated as a prisoner by the vizier, now solicited their protection, which was extended to him. The tide of conquest rolled on, and Chunárgurh and Alláhábád were next taken; after which the vizier, having obtained the support of the Mahrattás, again ventured to show fight, but, being defeated once more, was finally subdued, and solicited for terms. Fifty lakhs of rupees were asked from and paid by him as indemnification for the expenses of the war; and the emperor at the same time conferred on the English the *dewánny*, or revenues, of Bengal, Behár, and Orissá, together with the possession of all territories conquered by them within the limits of the Mogul Empire. The recognised sovereignty of the English was thus inaugurated in 1765.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE WARS WITH HYDER ÁLI AND TIPPOO SULTÁN.

A.D. 1766 TO 1799.

WHILE Bengal and Behár were being acquired by the English, a formidable power was consolidating itself in the Cárnatic for again contesting with them the sovereignty of the Coromandel coast. Hyder Áli was the son of a soldier of fortune, and entered the service of the Hindu rájáh of Mysore as a volunteer. Distinguishing himself soon by his courage and address he collected around him a large body of freebooters, which enabled him to vie on equal terms with greater chiefs. He was thus enabled to secure the office of *fouzdár* of Dindigul, and, having succeeded in repelling the attack of the Mahrattás, was made commander-in-chief of the Mysore army.

The king of Mysore was exceedingly indolent and imbecile, and was ruled entirely by his *dewán*, a Bráhman, named Nunjeráj. The arrogance of this man had latterly given offence to his master, who was anxious, but had not the power, to get rid of him. At this juncture Hyder came forward to assist him, intrigues were circumvented by intrigues, and Nunjeráj was sacrificed and Hyder elevated. The king had, however, little cause to congratulate himself. Hyder arrogated as much power as Nunjeráj had ever assumed, and at the same time broke up the Mysore army to augment his own. All the authority of the Mysore Government was, in this way, gradually appropriated by the adventurer.

The old rájáh dying, his son was raised to succeed him, Hyder affecting to disdain the equipage of royalty at the

time. But he went on increasing and consolidating his power, and was in a short time able to set aside his master, and proclaim himself Sultán of Mysore. The rapidity of his aggrandizement now made him a general object of envy; and, in 1766, the Nizám and the Mahrattás resolved to curtail his strength. A confederacy was formed for this purpose, and, the English being bound by treaty to support the Nizám against his enemies, were obliged to join it. For some time Hyder repelled force by force, till finding the opposition very strong against him, he had recourse to intrigue, and persuaded the Mahrattás that it would better suit the interests of all parties, if a combined attack were made for the expulsion of the English, who had no business to be in India. The bait took, and the confederacy was changed to one for the subversion of foreign authority in the country.

The army of Hyder was about two hundred-thousand, and that of the Nizám about one hundred-thousand strong; but the only formidable portions of these forces were a cavalry corps counting twenty thousand troopers, and a French contingent of seven hundred and fifty men. The campaign was opened by the country about Mysore being ravaged by Tippoo, the son of Hyder; after which Hyder himself appeared before the fort of Trincomálly, where he was opposed by Col. Smith. The English force consisted of fourteen hundred European infantry, thirty European cavalry, nine thousand sepoys, and fifteen hundred native cavalry. The strength of the enemy was roughly estimated at seventy thousand men, of whom more than half were mounted. The first struggle was for the possession of a hill which was carried by the English. It was followed by a regular battle, in which the well-directed fire of the English artillery made up for other deficiencies, and the allies were completely defeated. Hyder, with the sagacity of his keen intellect, perceived when the engagement was lost; but his ally, the Nizám, being still in hopes of victory, refused to leave the field, which made their loss very heavy. Another defeat was sustained immediately after before

Amboár, a place peculiarly situated, being built upon a mountain of smooth granite. Hyder laid siege to it; but it was ably defended by Capt. Calvert, till the arrival of Col. Smith, when Hyder was obliged to raise the siege. These reverses induced the Nizám to change sides, especially on account of his country having been simultaneously entered by the English from the side of Bengal; and, by this treachery, he gained all the advantages he had lost, the English agreeing to hold the *dewánny* of Mysore under him, and to pay tribute for it, when they conquered it.

The operations against Hyder were continued, and Col. Wood succeeded in reducing several places, such as, Barámahal, Sálem, Coimbatore, and Dindigul, which however, from the fewness of his troops and other causes, he was unable to retain. The success of Col. Smith was more marked; and the fortresses of Kristnágury, Mulwágul, and Colár, submitted to him in rapid succession, while he gained an important accession of strength by an alliance with the Mahrattás under Morári Ráo. This led to an attempt at negotiation, which however fell through, because the British authorities wanted much more than Hyder was prepared to yield.

Hyder's antipathy against the English being now greatly aggravated, led to some desperate attacks being made, by which Coimbatore was retaken by his general Fuzzulooláh Khán, and Barámahal by himself. Eroád and Cáuveriporám were also forced to surrender; and, while Fuzzulooláh went a-raiding in the direction of Madurá and Tinnevelly, his master ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of the Cáuvery, till he appeared by a rapid detour within five miles of Madrás. This frightened the Madrás Government to patch up an offensive and defensive alliance with him in 1769, on the condition of a mutual restoration of conquests, and of placing the possessions of both parties on the footing they occupied previous to the war, to which Hyder agreed simply because he wanted time to mature his schemes.

Hyder next got embroiled with the Mahrattás, who,

under Mádoo Ráo, entered his dominions and ravaged them. He solicited assistance from the English, on the force of the treaty referred to; but the appeal was disregarded, and from that moment he hated the English with the bitterest hatred. At this crisis war broke out between France and England in consequence of the American war of independence, and, while the English pounced upon Pondicherry and Máhé, the French determined to aid the arms of Hyder against their enemies. The second campaign was accordingly opened by Hyder, in 1780, at the head of twenty-eight thousand cavalry, a battalion of French soldiers, eleven battalions of country-born Portuguese, twenty-three battalions of sepoys, an immense train of artillery, and an innumerable host of irregulars, exclusive of thirty thousand chosen troops detached under Tippoo for ravaging the Malabár coast. The British forces at this time were scattered in detachments all over the country. Of these the most numerous and best-equipped party was that under Col. Baillie, which was intercepted by Hyder in its attempt to join the army under Sir Hector Munro, at Conjeverám. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the English fought well, repulsing thirteen different attacks of the enemy; but the superiority in numbers on the enemy's side was too great to get over, and they were at last obliged to submit, when the only humanity shown to them was that which proceeded from the French officers in the enemy's service, or what was obtained by their intercession.

After this Árcot was reduced by Hyder, and Wándewásh, Vellore, and Chingleput were besieged; while the English at Madrás, seized with terror, seriously contemplated returning to England, or flying over to Bengal. The reins of government in Bengal were, however, now in strong hands; and, when news of the disaster reached Warren Hastings, he at once sent over a reinforcement of five hundred and sixty Europeans under Sir Eyre Coote, promising to despatch a sepoy army in addition without delay. The forces placed under Coote on his arrival at Madrás,

numbered seven thousand men, of whom seventeen hundred were Europeans. These numbers were inconsiderable as compared with those commanded by the enemy; but it was necessary nevertheless to do something with them, to check the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder Áli, by which the country had already been converted into a desert. To this end the fortresses of Chingleput, Caranjaly, Permácoil, and Wándewásh were at once successively relieved; but, as these rapid movements necessarily exhausted his little army, Coote determined to risk a general action for weakening the enemy, and was soon able to do so. Encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, Hyder had intrenched his army strongly near Cuddalore. The position was exceedingly formidable, but Coote, being determined to carry it, led his men thither through a passage cut through the sand-hills by Hyder himself for surprising the English flank, and was able to draw them up in the face of several powerful batteries and of a vast body of cavalry. The attack thus made was hotly resisted, and the battle raged for six hours, every inch of ground being stubbornly fought for. The combatants on the English side amounted to eight thousand, and on the side of the enemy to about sixty thousand men; but eventually the latter were obliged to give way, Hyder himself being forced to fly. He returned in a short time to renew the fight, choosing a fresh position near Pollilor, where Col. Baillie had before been defeated by him. But the result on the present occasion was not similar. A very bloody engagement took place, which was so indecisive that both parties claimed the victory; but the Mysoreans were obliged to yield up their position, which the English reached by passing over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen. On the other hand, a more signal triumph was gained at this time by Tippoo over Col. Braithewaite, at Coleroon, where the English army, consisting of two thousand men, was surprised, defeated, and obliged to surrender; and Hyder Áli also, being shortly after joined by a strong body of French troops, successfully

besieged Cuddalore, which was recaptured without resistance. Hyder then proceeded to attack Wándewásh and Vellore; but the appearance of Coote to relieve the latter place induced him, after a distant cannonade, to retire towards Pondicherry. After these movements some successes were gained by Tippoo on the side of Malabár, when the operations in every direction were suddenly closed by the death of Hyder Áli, in 1782.

The Government of Madrás was anxious to take advantage of the confusion that followed, but was prevented from doing so by the violent dissensions then prevailing between the civil and military authorities acting under it. These gave time to Tippoo to recommence operations; but he withdrew from the Cárnatic to the Malabár coast, which appeared to him to have become, for the time, the more important theatre of hostilities. The remaining enemy of the English on the Coromandel coast were the French, who had again got together a numerous army under Bussy, which was located at Cuddalore. The position was attacked and carried by the English under Gen. Stuart, but at a considerable sacrifice of lives: and Suffrein, the French Admiral, having succeeded soon after in landing another large reinforcement, the prospects of the English looked very gloomy, when intelligence arrived of peace having been concluded between the two nations in Europe, which terminated all offensive operations between them in India also. On the Malabár coast Gen. Mathews succeeded in capturing Bednore, in 1783, with treasure exceeding 800,000*l.* But his success making him unwary Tippoo was soon able to circumvent him, and with the aid of a French engineer, named Cossigny, retook Bednore, and, not finding his treasure in it, placed all his prisoners in irons and ill-treated them. Mangalore was next invested by him, and surrendered after a protracted defence, the garrison being allowed to withdraw with all the honours of war. Another place, Onore, was also similarly invested, and defended; but, Tippoo being now deserted by his French officers, who withdrew from his army on account of the good understand-

ing established between France and England in Europe, a hasty peace was concluded, which saved the honour of the garrison and its intrepid commander.

It was not possible, however, for this peace to last long. The actual power of Tippoo now extended nearly over the whole of India south of the Toombuddrá, while his pretensions already exceeded all bounds. These involved him, in 1785, in a war with the Mahrattás and the Nizám; and, when that was settled, he got up a quarrel with the rájáh of Travancore, in 1788. This prince was in alliance with the English, and the English Government hastened to inform Tippoo that hostilities with him would be regarded as a declaration of war with themselves. But Tippoo cared little for the threat, and attacked Travancore with an army of thirty-five thousand men. The resistance received by him was greater than he had expected. He was at first repulsed and fled; but the defeat was afterwards retrieved, and, the Travancore troops being worsted, the whole country lay at the mercy of the victor, which, as usual with him, was misused.

The Marquess of Cornwallis now determined once for all to humble the power of Mysore. A fresh treaty, offensive and defensive, was to that end concluded with the Nizám and the Peishwá, and a British army of fifteen thousand men was assembled under Gen. Meadows, at Trichinopoly, in 1790. The object held in view was to advance upon Seringápatám, to effect which operations were begun by reducing the sultán's strong places in the low country. The fortresses of Eroád, Pálgaut, Dindigul, and Sattimungul were successively taken, and the possession of the Gujelhátty pass was secured, which gave access to the heart of the enemy's country. Tippoo in the meanwhile swept through the Cárnatic, burning and destroying everything in his way, and, approaching Pondicherry, endeavoured to open negotiations with the French. He even sent proposals to Louis XVI., offering to destroy the English army and settlements in India provided the aid of six thousand French troops were given to him; but the king refused to agree.

"This resembles the affair of America," he said, "which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten." Tippoo was necessarily thrown on his own resources alone, but was not the less triumphant on that account, till Lord Cornwallis having entered the table-land of Mysore, took him completely by surprise.

The second campaign was opened in 1791, Tippoo making his first stand at Bangalore, where he had removed his women and treasures. The fortress was too extensive to be invested; but it was carried by the English by breach and battery, after a heroic resistance on the part of the garrison. The English army experienced great difficulties now from want of stores and the inadequate supply of cattle for transport, but nevertheless passed on to Malávelly and thence to Arikerá, a distance of nine miles from Seringápatám. This alarmed Tippoo greatly. He drew up his army, hitherto engaged in desultory warfare, to cover his capital, its right wing being protected by the Cáuvery and its left by a chain of hills. The difficulties of attacking the position were great; but Lord Cornwallis determined to hazard them. The progress of the British force was slow, but requisite disposition for action was eventually attained, and an attack risked in the middle of May. The contest on both sides was obstinately maintained; but, on coming to close combat, steel to steel, the English carried by successive charges, one point after another, till the whole of Tippoo's army was obliged to fly and seek shelter under the fortifications of Seringápatám. But the victory was attained at great cost, the army had marched through a desert, and was suffering fearfully from famine and disease, and the British commander soon found himself obliged to retire for the time, and to destroy the whole of his battering-train and equipments. An opportune junction with the Mahrattá armies under Pursarám Bháo and Hurry Punt relieved the hardships suffered to a considerable extent, the Mahrattá commissariat being as excellent as that of the English was execrable. The fortress

of Hooleádroog was then taken, after which the army passed on for rest to Bangalore.

Operations were recommenced shortly after by the capture of the fortresses of Oussoor and Nundidroog, the latter of which offered a spirited resistance. The army then passed through a tract of hills covered with wood and studded with forts, of which that called Sávindroog, or the Rock of Death, was the strongest. This was carried by assault, which caused Tippoo the greatest alarm and astonishment, as he had always regarded it as perfectly impregnable. Then followed the capture of another strong fort named Ootradroog, and of other inferior fortresses which did not even attempt to resist; while all that Tippoo was able to achieve was the reduction of Coimbatore, which yielded after a remarkable defence made by a very small garrison for one hundred and forty-three days.

The way being thus cleared for an advance on Seringá-patám, Lord Cornwallis ordered Gen. Abercrombie to approach it early in 1792. The army under his lordship amounted at this moment to twenty-two thousand men, with a train of forty-two battering-guns and forty-four field-pieces, while that under Gen. Abercrombie amounted to eight thousand and four hundred men. The Mahrattá armies would have greatly augmented these forces; but they found it more profitable to undertake plundering expeditions on their own account which could not be prevented, and the plan of attack was therefore not communicated to them. The Mysore army still consisted of forty-five thousand infantry, five thousand cavalry, and one hundred pieces of cannon; and with these formidable numbers Tippoo awaited the struggle in front of Seringápatám.

An immediate and general attack being determined upon, it was undertaken at night for the greater certainty of surprise. The attacking army was formed into three columns, the centre column being commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person. The operations were so well conducted that the assailants forded the Cáuvery and passed into Seringápatám, which is an island, before the enemy

were fully aware of their danger. This was followed by a series of rapid and complicated movements which confounded and disheartened them; but nevertheless, when day broke the guns of the fort opened a severe fire, and a very obstinate resistance was offered. The first post of strength attacked was the "Sultán's Redoubt," which was taken after dreadful carnage. The Lálbágh, which contained the mausoleum of Hyder, was next assailed and captured. This place, being a magnificent garden, supplied materials for the siege of the city, which was now invested on its two principal sides, Gen. Abercrombie and Pursarám Bháo having obtained access towards it through the Gujelhátty pass. The conflicts which followed constituted a great and continuous battle, one of the grandest and severest ever fought in India. But Tippoo was finally worsted and reduced, and solicited peace, which was granted to him on the surrender of half his dominions, the payment of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages.

The sultán of Mysore was humiliated, and the final conclusion of the war staved. He burned for vengeance, and sought for confederates in every direction, sending ambassadors to Afghánistán, Constantinople, and Paris. But there was no favourable response from any quarter except Mauritius, or the Isle of France, which sent him assistance to the extent of ninety-nine recruits! These marks of disaffection being openly paraded, the British Government remonstrated, and called upon the sultán to receive an English officer in his court to explain all causes of distrust and suspicion. But Tippoo would not agree to the arrangement, and procrastinated, upon which the government of the Earl of Mornington (Marquess of Wellesley) decided to reinvade Mysore, and appointed Gen. Harris, in 1799, to take charge of the operations. The army placed under Harris consisted of four thousand and four hundred European and ten thousand and seven hundred native infantry, nine hundred European and seventeen hundred and fifty native cavalry, and six hundred gunners with one hundred and four pieces of cannon. To these were added ten thousand and

two hundred infantry and six hundred horse belonging to the Nizám, which, strengthened with some Company's battalions and the 33rd King's Regiment, were placed under the command of Col. Wellesley, afterwards the world-renowned Duke of Wellington. A third army of six thousand and four hundred men under Gen. Stuart advanced from Malabár.

Tippoo endeavoured to take advantage of the detached state of the invading armies, and first attacked the Malabár forces before they were aware of his approach. But, though taken by surprise, they gave him no reason for exultation, and he was compelled to disperse his men in every direction. He next turned on the Nizám's troops, upon which he was attacked by Col. Wellesley from one side and Gen. Harris from another. Some of the sultán's chosen forces were sent against the 33rd European Regiment in the vain hope that, if they were broken through, it would be easier work to dispose of the native troops afterwards. His boldest men were not able to stand the English bayonet charge, which was followed by a cavalry charge in which no quarter was given.

These desultory engagements were terminated in April 1799, by Gen. Harris's determined advance on Seringá-patám. Gen. Baird led the storming party, while Col. Wellesley held command of the reserve, which was to complete what Baird might leave unfinished. The Cáuvery was boldly forded by the assailants under a heavy fire, and the ramparts were fought for and won, the resistance offered being very unequal at different places. A more spirited resistance was offered inside the city, where the sultán fought with his own hands like a common soldier. But this terminated with his fall, his body being found where the contest had raged fiercest. After his death all the powerful fortresses throughout Mysore were surrendered; and, the whole country being acquired by the conquerors, the old Hindu dynasty was re-established on the throne, after having been set aside from it for forty-two years, while the family of Tippoo was removed to Vellore.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE FIRST MAHRATTÁ WAR.

A.D. 1802 TO 1805.

THE conquest of Mysore opened the way to new difficulties and fresh wars. The development of the Mahrattá power has been already noticed. The genuine Mahrattás were not an extensive people at the outset; but their predatory life brought them many recruits, and they grew stronger as they advanced in their career of plunder. They invaded every country they could come to, and demanded the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenue, as tribute. When this was quietly paid no atrocities were committed; otherwise the whole country was plundered and laid waste. With a superior army they rarely contended, retiring before it till they succeeded in making their army superior to that by which it was opposed. The decline of the Mogul Empire contributed materially to make them formidable, and would have conferred absolute supremacy on them but for the invasions of the Afgháns, from whom they received two signal defeats. The Afgháns, however, did not attempt to establish themselves permanently in India, and the Mahrattás necessarily regained on their retirement a preponderance among the native states. The subversion of the power of Hyder and his son by the English filled them with fresh fears of rivalry, and hastened that rupture with the foreigners which might otherwise have been delayed.

The unity of the Mahrattá Government disappeared a short time after the era of Sivájee. In 1708, the reigning king, Sáhoo, raised Bálájee Viswanáth to the office of *Peishwá*, and made it hereditary. The dignity of the

Rájáh sunk from that time in the same degree as that of the Peishwá was exalted, and the latter soon established for himself a distinct seat of government at Pooná. This example was followed by other chiefs in time, who similarly established independent sovereignties for themselves as they found opportunities to do so; namely, Scindiá in Málwá, Holkár in Indore, the Guicowár in Guzerát, and the rájáh of Berár in Nágpore. They were connected with each other only by an undefined union of interests, and acknowledged in common the lead of the Peishwá, sedulously contending with each other for ascendancy at his court. This engendered an excessive jealousy between them, but for which they might have yet jointly assumed the imperial power. The strength and ambition of Hyder induced these chiefs to unite with the English in successive leagues; but the assistance they rendered was too tumultuary to be of much real use. The power of both Hyder and Tippoo having been brought to an end they had already begun to look distrustfully on the English; while the English, on their part, were anxious to avail themselves of the commanding position they had secured to establish an effective control over them.

The greatest of the Mahrattá leaders at this time was Scindiá, whose territory being contiguous to that of the Moguls had enabled him to establish himself on their decline, till, amid the dissensions of the imperial court, the emperor had personally placed himself under his protection, which had made him master of Ágrá, Delhi, and the surrounding territories. This advantage he had augmented by increasing his military power; and he had succeeded in organizing a large army officered by French adventurers. Holkár was nearly equal to him in strength, and like him retained French officers to instruct his troops. The rájáh of Berár was not less ambitious, but reigned over a wild people not equally open to improvement. The Guicowár, whose territory lay seaward, was the only one of them entirely devoted to English interests; for which reason he was not held in much account by the rest.

The first difference that played these chiefs into the hands of the English arose entirely among themselves. Holkár, in the course of his ravages, had overrun a part of Scindiá's territories. Scindiá united with the Peishwá to oppose him, but Holkár defeated them both; upon which the Peishwá, flying to Bássein, applied to the English to reestablish him in his rights. This led to an alliance and the treaty of Bássein, executed in 1802, by which the Peishwá virtually accepted English protection and resigned his military power into their hands. Scindiá was invited to take part in the engagement, but kept aloof from it; and he afterwards joined the rájáh of Berár in opposing it.

The ostensible object of the English Government was the reinstatement of the Peishwá on his throne: their real object was the entire annihilation of the Mahrattá power. This necessitated large operations both in Central India and in the Upper Provinces, and arrangements for carrying them on vigorously were made. The military command in Central India was intrusted to Gen. Wellesley; while that in the Upper Provinces devolved on the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake.

The campaign was opened by the capture of the fortress of Áhmednugger, by Gen. Wellesley, in August 1803, of which event Scindiá gave the following laconic account: "The English came, looked at the *pettáh*, walked over it, slew the garrison, and retired to breakfast." The acquisition was of the greatest importance, as it placed at the command of the English all Scindiá's territories south of the Godávery. The fort of Baroach was taken immediately after by Col. Woodington, while Wellesley moved on to Naulniáh, whence he overtook the enemy encamped in full force near the village of Assaye. The strength of Scindiá was estimated at thirty-eight thousand cavalry and eighteen thousand infantry, with one hundred pieces of artillery. The English cavalry opposed to this force scarcely numbered three thousand sabres, while the infantry was about seven thousand strong. The battle was fought on the 23rd September, and was commenced by the English, who opened

a well-directed, but unsuccessful cannonade, the enemy's artillery returning a dreadful fire which soon silenced the English guns. Everything now depended on the resolution of a moment, and that resolution was promptly taken. The guns were abandoned for a bayonet charge, and, this succeeding beyond expectation, was followed by a cavalry charge which closed the fight. A desperate slaughter was terminated by the Mahrattás being defeated at every point; but their gunners would not even then abandon their guns, and were bayoneted at their posts. In this action the native sepoys fought as well as their European comrades; and it was from this date that they commenced to be well-prized.

After this, Col. Stevenson reduced the fortresses of Burhánpore and Áseergurh; while Gen. Wellesley proceeded against the rájáh of Berár, whose troops were overtaken on the 29th November, on the plains of Árgáum. But here the opposition was not of the kind experienced at Assaye. The attack was made in two lines, the infantry being the first and the cavalry the second; and as these advanced the enemy began to fall back. The battle was of short duration, though sanguinary; the result of it was not doubtful even for a moment, notwithstanding that the native troops, which had fought so gallantly at Assaye, were at first found to be very unsteady.

Of both Assaye and Árgáum the opinions expressed by military critics have been adverse to the fame of Gen. Wellesley. The attack at Assaye, they say, should never have been risked, and would not have succeeded but for the spirit and fortitude of the troops. The engagement at Árgáum is similarly pronounced to have been fought against military rules, and was only won by the self-reliance and presence of mind of the general in command. Criticisms of this nature, however, are of no real value; victories are not won by rule and compass; the general who commanded knew well what he was about; and, if the proof of the pudding be in the eating of it, the proof of the warrior's ability must be seen in the victories he gained.

The success at Árgáum was followed by the capture of Gáwilgurh, a strong fort situated on a lofty rock, which was taken by Gen. Wellesley in December; while two months earlier Col. Harcourt reduced a fort in Cuttack, named Barábuttee, which had offered a determined resistance, and the seizure of which led to the entire submission of Cuttack.

The operations simultaneously carried on under Lord Lake were equally successful. They were commenced in August, by his marching against Perrou, a French adventurer in the employ of Scindiá, who, on the land assigned to him for the maintenance of his troops, had established what he called an "independent French state on the most vulnerable part of the Company's frontier." But the brave Frenchman did not show fight on being approached, and fled with such rapidity that the English commander was not able to overtake him. Lake therefore marched on to Áligurh, the principal military depôt of Perrou, which was attacked in September, the garrison offering a desperate resistance. Two thousand of them perished in fight, after which the rest surrendered; and all the artillery and stores in the depôt were captured. At this stage Perrou appeared and gave himself up; after which he applied for and obtained permission to enter the British territories, explaining that his treachery to Scindiá was caused by that chief having appointed another commander to supersede him.

Immediately after, Lake proceeded towards Delhi, before which he found the army that Perrou had commanded, drawn up for battle under the command of a new officer, named Bourquien. The number of the Mahrattás was about nineteen thousand, while the English army pitted against them was only four thousand and five hundred strong. But Lake did not hesitate to attack his opponents, and, after having tempted them down from their heights and intrenchments, commenced the battle with a short volley, which was followed by a bayonet charge. The battle was brief but decisive. The bayonet charge being successful, was followed by a cavalry charge which com-

pletely routed the enemy; after which Delhi was entered by the English, and the poor ill-treated emperor taken under protection. Lake then marched on to Ágrá, where he arrived on the 4th October, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The fort here was very strong, and was occupied by a large body of troops by whom an obstinate resistance was made. But, a breach having been effected, the enemy capitulated, upon which one hundred and seventy-six guns were captured, with treasure amounting to 280,000*l.*

From Ágrá, Lake's army moved in pursuit of a Mahrattá force of nine thousand foot and five thousand horse, and having a numerous artillery. These were overtaken near the village of Láswarie, on the 1st November, and fought with a determination exceeding all that had been expected of them. In the first encounter their artillery mowed down men and horses in masses, and the English cavalry had to be withdrawn. A fresh attack was made on the arrival of the infantry; but the desperate valour of the enemy long kept their assailants at bay, and it was not till they were dispossessed of all their guns that they relinquished the contest. These troops constituted the flower of Scindiá's army, and went by the name of the "Deccan Invincibles;" seven thousand of them were killed, and only two thousand survived to surrender themselves. Both the rájáh of Berár and Scindiá were now vanquished at every point. The former concluded peace by ceding the province of Cuttack to the English, and the latter by giving up to them all the country between the Ganges and the Jumná, with the forts contained therein. He also gave up Baroach, with the rest of his maritime territory in Guzerát; while, on the south, he ceded Áhmednugger to the Peishwá, and some extensive districts to the Nizám.

The next adversary to turn to was Holkár, who had throughout the war with Scindiá and the rájáh of Berár retained an uncertain position, professing to be friendly to the English, but only watching an opportunity to strengthen

himself at the expense of the contending parties. His real intentions being thus discovered, directions were given to Lord Lake and Gen. Wellesley to commence operations against him simultaneously in Hindustán Proper and the Deccan. The troops under him amounted at this time to sixty thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry, with one hundred and ninety-two pieces of artillery. The first to advance against him was Lord Lake, the march of Gen. Wellesley being delayed by a famine prevailing in the Deccan. The fort of Tonk Rampoorá was taken in May 1804, after which Holkár fled; whereupon Lake with the main body of the army fell back on Ágrá, amid indescribable misery and suffering from an Indian simoom, leaving a detachment under Col. Monson to guard against the return of the enemy, while the pursuit after him was intrusted to a Hindustáni cavalry, consisting of two divisions, one commanded by Capt. Gardiner, an officer in the service of the ráják of Jynagore, and the other by Lieut. Lucan.

Many disasters followed these arrangements. Lieut. Lucan's party, having been suddenly attacked by Holkár, was cut to pieces; and in other quarters the British arms met with distressing reverses from the predatory cavalry under Ámeer Khán, the leader of the Páthán plunderers in the Deccan. Becoming bolder by success, Holkár next attacked Col. Monson himself; and, though all his assaults were vigorously repulsed, the English commander was still obliged to retreat. This had a very bad effect on the spirit of his men; and, being harassed at every step by the enemy, the corps was reduced from twelve thousand to one thousand men, when, without cannon, baggage, and ammunition, it found refuge under the walls of Ágrá. To wipe out the disgrace of this reverse, Lake marched out personally against Holkár, in October, the force under him consisting of three regiments of European Light Dragoons, five regiments of Native Cavalry and Horse Artillery, H.M.'s 76th Regiment of Foot, the flank companies of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, ten battalions of Native In-

fantry, and the usual proportion of artillery. The army under Holkár was still above seventy thousand strong; but, avoiding Lake, he moved forward to attack Delhi. He was there received by Cols. Ochterlony and Burn, who had only two battalions and four companies of Native Infantry under them. The defence was nevertheless so successful that the assailants, after a siege of nine days, were driven back from every point and obliged to fly.

Lake having hastened to the relief of Delhi, and arriving there after the besiegers had marched off, pursued them to Deeg, tracking them by the course of their devastations. But before he came up with them a great battle was fought under the walls of the fort, on the 13th November, between them and the forces under Gens. Fraser and Monson, in which the victory was obtained by the English after a severe loss of lives. The remains of the enemy's army then took shelter within the fort, while Holkár pursued his flight towards the Jumná, followed by Lake at the rate of twenty-three miles a day. He was overtaken at Furruckábád, but, abandoning his army, he bolted thence backwards to Deeg. This led to the fort being besieged and stormed in December, after which Holkár retreated towards Bhurtpore, leaving one hundred guns and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition behind him. The strength of the chief in the Upper Provinces was now entirely broken, while, in the Deccan, Chandore and other strongholds were reduced.

The only point of resistance now was Bhurtpore, a mud fort surrounded by a broad ditch. This was defended with great skill and resolution, and the English were repulsed from it four times successively in attempting to carry it by assault. To add to their difficulties Ámeer Khán, the Páthán chief, who had been invited by the rájáh of Bhurtpore to assist him, harassed them in the rear. This made their position particularly unpleasant; but the rájáh, being apprehensive of final consequences, made overtures of peace in March 1805, and paid down twenty lakhs of rupees to secure it. Holkár, thus deserted by his last ally, was

obliged to seek refuge amongst the Sikhs, when by a complete change of policy among the English administrators all the advantages of the campaign were lost. The Court of Directors had come to the decision of concluding peace in India at any price, and the policy adopted by the Marquess of Wellesley was therefore overturned. The fortress of Gwálior was given back to Scindiá, and the fugitive Holkár was granted peace on terms which restored to him almost everything he had lost.

CHAPTER XL.

THE NEPÁL WAR.

A.D. 1814 TO 1816.

THE Earl of Moira had censured in Parliament the martial proclivities of the Marquess of Wellesley, but, on his arrival in India, was obliged to undertake wars of even greater magnitude than those which Lord Wellesley had waged. The first quarrel forced on him was that with the kingdom of Nepál, the Switzerland of the East, which for a series of years had been committing aggressions on the English frontier, for which it made neither reparation nor apology, while it retained forcible possession of its usurpations, and treated the officers sent to remonstrate with insolence and atrocity. War with it having thus become unavoidable, the Governor-General determined to invade the country at once at four different points; and for that purpose organized four separate army-divisions, which were placed severally under the commands of Gens. Marley, Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony. The force under the first consisted of eight thousand men and twenty-six guns, and was intended for marching through Muckwanpore to Kátmandoo, the capital of Nepál. Gen. Wood, at the head of four thousand and five hundred regular troops, a body of nine hundred irregulars, and fifteen guns, was directed to march from Goruckpore, to clear and take possession of the Terai, or jungle-territory, between the British and Nepál frontiers. The force under Gen. Gillespie, consisting of three thousand and five hundred regular troops, seven thousand irregulars, and twenty guns, had orders to seize the passes of the Ganges and the Jumná, particularly those of the Dehrá

Dhoon and Jyetak, and to cut off the enemy's retreat. The force assigned to Gen. Ochterlony amounted to seven thousand men and twenty-two guns, and his orders were to operate against the western provinces and the western army of Nepál, led by Umur Sing Thappá, a chief of great renown. The entire Goorkhá army did not number more than twelve thousand men; but their artillery appointments were believed to be good, besides which they had a great advantage in the impregnability of their passes and the difficult nature of their country generally.

The campaign was opened in October 1814, by the occupation of the Dehrá Dhoon by Gen. Gillespie, who proceeded thence to attack the fortress of Kálungá, which formed the key of the surrounding country. The place was garrisoned by six hundred Goorkhás, who resisted the assault with great intrepidity; and, in endeavouring to force his soldiers against stone-walls which they could not conquer by escalade, Gillespie himself was shot through the heart. The attack was renewed by Col. Mawbey, who succeeded in effecting a breach, which however he was unable to carry, being forced back with a loss of about seven hundred men. A bombardment was next tried, and was attended with immediate success. The batteries continuing to play on it, the walls of the fortress were in three days reduced to ruins, upon which the remnants of the garrison were compelled to abandon the place, and, being pursued, had to disperse. After this the strong fort of Báraut, being attacked, was evacuated by the enemy, and so also was the post of Luckerghát on the Ganges, which completed the occupation of the entire valley by the invaders. Gen. Martindell, the successor of Gillespie, now resolved to assail the fortress of Jyetak; but here the Goorkhás were more strongly stockaded, and succeeded in repelling the attacks which were hazarded, which led to a disastrous retreat.

Simultaneously with the above operations, the division under Gen. Ochterlony penetrated the western hills in the direction of Nálágurh, the fort at which place was captured

on the 6th November, and that of Tárágurh immediately after it. He then passed on to Rámgurh, a hill-position of extraordinary strength, where Umur Sing had concentrated all his forces. Both the front and the rear of the position were found unassailable; till, by a series of skilful manœuvres, Umur Sing was compelled to quit it, upon which it was at once occupied by the English. Two other forts—Jhoojhooroo and Chumbul—were also taken, after which Ochterlony halted for a time in expectation of reinforcements.

The operations of the other two divisions were uniformly disastrous. Gen. Wood suffered himself to be inveigled into an attack of a redoubt at Jeetgurh, which, though carried with considerable loss, he was not able to retain. He then endeavoured to proceed in a westerly direction, with a view to create a diversion of the enemy's force, but was stopped by the movements of the Goorkhás, who, advancing into the country, burnt all the villages on his route. An attempt to occupy Bhotwál was next made, but was unsuccessful; after which the health of the troops compelled them to retire into cantonments at Goruckpore. The only achievement of the division under Gen. Marley was the occupation of the Sárun Terai, which was effected before he took charge. After he joined the army the Goorkhás attacked two of his advanced posts—Pursáh and Summundpore—and carried them. An attempt was made to reoccupy Pursáh, but was given up in alarm; after which the general retired to Bettiáh, from which nothing could induce him to venture out. He was recalled. A similar conduct on the part of a Nepálese general, named Bhágbut Sing, was punished by his Government, not simply by recall, but by his being publicly exhibited in woman's attire. Gen. Marley had deserved the distinction equally well, and ought to have received it.

Marley was succeeded by a second Gen. Wood, who proved to be no better than his namesake, the hero of Jeetgurh. A detachment of his division distinguished itself, towards the end of February 1815, by a smart attack on a party

of four hundred Goorkhás, who were defeated and pursued; but the general himself was more cautious, and, pleading the advanced season of the year as an excuse for his conduct, he broke up his army and cantoned it in convenient situations from the Gunduck to the Koosi. The division under Gen. Martindell also remained equally inactive, and the courage of the English officers soon became a by-word in every native court in India.

The entire command of the war was now vested by the Governor-General in Gen. Ochterlony, the only commander who had fought valiantly and skilfully in the campaign. Having driven Umur Sing from Rámgurh to Málown, Ochterlony had successively reduced several strongholds, among which were those of Beláspore and Álmoráh. He crowned these successes by attacking Umur Sing at Málown, where a protracted contest of more than one month was maintained, the Nepálese general being finally forced to capitulate on the 11th May, 1815, whereby the possession of the entire country between the Jumná and the Sutledge was secured.

The Nepál Government was so discouraged by these reverses that it expressed a willingness for peace; but the terms proposed by the English, which included the cession of all the provinces conquered in the west and of the whole of the Terai, were refused as too exacting by the court of Kátmandoo, even after they had been accepted by its ambassadors. Lord Moira, however, declined to relax in his demands; and Ochterlony was ordered to renew the war, and pressed forward to do so at the head of twenty thousand men, including three English regiments. He found the enemy intrenched at the Cheriághátee pass, which formed the entrance into their mountain-territory. The approaches to their position were all strongly stockaded and unassailable; but, by marching through a forest of nine miles, Ochterlony discovered an undefended by-path which turned the pass. The heights on the flank of the enemy's position were thus gained by the middle of February, 1816, which compelled them to evacuate the place and

retreat from stockade to stockade till they reached the town of Muckwanpore. On the 27th February the English troops took up a position in the neighbourhood of Muckwanpore, upon which the Goorkhás endeavoured to dislodge them, which brought on a general action that decided the campaign. It was at first very hotly contested, till a British bayonet charge broke the enemy. A good stand was again made by them beyond a deep hollow, whence an incessant cannonade was kept up for some hours. But a fresh sepoy battalion dashed across the hollow, and, charging the enemy again with the bayonet, captured their nearest guns, which compelled them to retire into their forts and stockades.

This concluded the Nepál war, the court of Kátmandoo agreeing to yield everything that the English had originally asked for. All the Nepál territories occupied by the English, including the valley of the Ráptee and Huree-hurpore, were thus acquired. The ráják also sent in an apologetic letter for the differences that had arisen, promised never again to disturb the English frontier, and agreed to receive an English Resident at his court.

CHAPTER XLI

THE SECOND MAHRATTÁ AND PINDÁRI WAR.

A.D. 1817 TO 1819.

THE second great war waged by the Earl of Moira, now made Marquess of Hastings, began in hostilities with the Pindáris, the Freebooters of Central India, who were secretly supported by the Mahrattá princes, and ended in the annihilation of the former, while the latter were brought under subordination and control. The Pindáris, or Free Companions, were dispersed throughout the Mahrattá states, and were countenanced and protected by the Mahrattá chiefs, to whom they were invaluable as agents for supplying all the commissariat required by their armies. They were composed of the refuse of all races congregated together solely for purposes of plunder. Every vagabond having a horse and a sword was qualified to serve as a Pindári recruit; no virtue of any kind—not even personal courage—was required of him; all the strength of the Pindáris lay in their numbers and in the celerity of their movements. They were simply mean and cowardly robbers, called forth into existence by a vicious and degraded state of society; and they kept themselves actively employed by undertaking expeditions of plunder and rapine on their own account. As a rule these depredations were made on the neighbouring Rájpoot states; but they sometimes levied contributions in Mahrattá country also, on the subjects and dependants of the very princes who protected them; and, even on such occasions, no pains were ever taken to check their rapacity so long as a part of the plunder was surrendered to the protecting chief. The two great divisions among them were known by the names of "Scindiá-Sháhi" and "Holkár-Sháhi,"

as being respectively under the protection of Scindiá and Holkár; the first band being much more powerful than the second. The organization of all the divisions was the same. They were all mounted on small but hardy ponies; carried no conveniences of life with them, depending on plunder even for their subsistence; and spared no barbarities in their depredations. The most diabolical tortures were used to extract informations of treasure; the greatest cruelties inflicted for attaining the most trivial advantages. When first known to the English authorities their principal commanders were Cheetoo, Kurreem, and Dost Mahomed, the most desperate and profligate villains among themselves being always selected for such commands. For a long time the English territories had been respected by them; but they had begun to be less particular in this respect from 1812, and had latterly entered Ganjám, Masulipatám, Guntoor, and the Northern Circárs, and in twelve days had killed and wounded nearly seven thousand persons, and carried off property to the value of 100,000*l*. These atrocities rendered it imperative on the English Government to root them out; and preparations for their total suppression were accordingly organized by Lord Hastings on the grandest scale, as apprehensions were entertained that an attack on them might give rise to a war with the Mahrattá chiefs by whom they were supported.

This anticipation was realized; but the complications with the different chiefs were differently created. The Peishwá, Bájee Ráo, not having been on good terms with the Guicowár, the ruler of Guzerát, the latter made several attempts to have the difficulties between them settled by negotiation. All these efforts were baffled by the intrigues of an adventurer, named Trimbuckjee Dangliá, who had rapidly risen in the Peishwá's favour; and the claims and counterclaims of the two parties at last became so intricate that the Guicowár offered to send to Pooná his own prime-minister, Gungádhur Shástree, as the person best able to place the questions at issue between them on an intelligible basis. The Shástree accordingly went thither, in 1814,

on receiving a safe-conduct from the British Government, after which he was set upon by the followers of Trimbuckjee and assassinated. This short-sighted violence left the British Government no alternative but to demand the surrender of Trimbuckjee; and, on evasion being attempted, a military demonstration on Pooná was threatened, to prevent which Trimbuckjee was surrendered. He was kept in confinement by the English in the fortress of Tanná, in the island of Sálsette; but managed to escape thence with the connivance of a Mahrattá groom, after which he hastened to the southern districts of the Mahrattá country and began to levy troops and raise the whole country to make war with the English. As the Peishwá countenanced these proceedings secretly he was remonstrated with, till, throwing off his reserve, he joined in hostile movements against the English, and finally ended by attacking the Residency, and plundering and burning it to the ground, in October, 1817. The Resident and his party had barely time to escape from the Residency when it was thus attacked and destroyed. The English troops came back in a short time to reoccupy Pooná, and the Peishwá's forces were defeated, and bolted: after which Col. Colebrooke was sent in pursuit of the Peishwá, which forced him to throw himself into the wild country where the Kristná takes its rise, and to make common cause with the Pindáris.

The greatest army that England had ever yet collected together in India now took the field for the avowed purposes of finally crushing the Pindáris, and of establishing order among the Mahrattá states. It counted eighty-one thousand infantry, and ten thousand regular and twenty-three thousand irregular cavalry; and of the entire number thirteen thousand were British soldiers. These forces were grouped into two bodies, called respectively the "Army of Bengal, or the Grand-Army," which was commanded by the Governor-General in person, and the "Army of the Deccan," which was divided into two army-corps, commanded, one by Sir Thomas Hislop, and the other by Sir John Malcolm. The divisions of the armies were so located

as to form together a complete cordon round the Pindári positions. The forces opposed to them were estimated at two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, the Mahrattá confederacy counting one hundred and thirty thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, and the Pindáris fifteen thousand horse. The field of war was so extensive that it gave great facilities to the flying propensities of the Mahrattás and Pindáris, and this necessarily threw many difficulties in the way of their pursuit.

Up to this time the other Mahrattá chiefs had not discovered themselves. It being now necessary that a part of the English army should traverse the territories of Scindiá, the Governor-General considered it essential that, when leaving the dominion of that chief behind, his consent should be extorted to such a treaty as would withdraw from him the means of hostile interposition in the approaching conflict. The Resident at Gwálior was accordingly instructed to demand of Scindiá that all his troops be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General, that a contingent of five thousand horse be furnished by him to the army equipped at his own expense, and that the forts of Hindiá and Áseergurh be delivered up to the English for the time, his flag continuing to fly on them as heretofore. These conditions were very hard, and Scindiá objected strongly to agree to them; but, as the Governor-General was determined to enforce them, the treaty was eventually signed on the 6th November, 1817. Similar treaties were also extorted from the other Mahrattá chiefs, and also from Ámeer Khán, the leader of the Páthán plunderers in Central India, who was well-known as the most atrocious villain of his day.

With Berár the relations hitherto had been very amicable. But Rughoojee Bhonslá having died, and Áppá Sáheb, his cousin, having been raised to the *musnud* by the English, the first idea that occurred to him was to get rid of his allies, whose assistance, he thought, was no longer of any use to him. This induced him to enter into active correspondence with the Peishwá and the Pindáris; the remonstrances

of the Resident were lightly treated; and at last hostile preparations were made which compelled the Resident, in November, 1817, to send for troops from the cantonments, and to occupy the hills of Seetábuldee, where they were surrounded by the enemy on the 27th. The Arabs in the rájáh's service fought resolutely, while the sepoys in the British army were panic-struck and fled, and were put to the sword. The day seemed lost, when a daring cavalry charge headed by Capt. Fitz-Gerald retrieved it, the enemy being scattered in every direction, including the Arabs who were unable to stand a bayonet charge. This forced Áppá Sáheb to enter into negotiations; but, as he at the same time went on increasing his army, it was determined to crush him altogether as speedily as practicable. Gen. Doveton was accordingly sent after him, and by his movements succeeded in compelling Áppá Sáheb to surrender, after much hesitation and delay, on the 16th December, 1817. His artillery nevertheless opened a heavy fire on the English; but, in less than an hour, all the offending batteries were carried, and the Arabs put to flight, leaving their entire camp, with eighty guns, mortars, and howitzers, and forty-five elephants, in the hands of the victors. Even after this defeat a part of the Arab infantry rallying occupied the city and fortress of Nágpore, which they held for a time, capitulating at last on the condition of being permitted to march out with their baggage and private property; after which no further resistance was made.

Great confusion had also arisen intermediately in the territory of Holkár. Jeswant Ráo having died, and his heir, Mulhár Ráo, being a minor, Toolsee Bye, the widow of the deceased Holkár, was made regent. Her leaning for English protection, however, soon made her very unpopular among her own people, and particularly with Ámeer Khán and the Páthán̈s who had a potential voice in the councils of the country, and were particularly anxious to keep up a state of anarchy in it to benefit themselves. To remove the only obstruction in their way they seized upon and assassinated the regent, which forced Sir John

Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop to proceed together towards Mehidpore, where Holkár's army was posted, to avenge the outrage. The battle of Mehidpore was fought on the 21st December. A galling fire kept up by the enemy was very destructive to the English horse-artillery, which had first crossed over to their side, and the guns attached to which were nearly disabled. But the English, having succeeded in carrying a ruined village which was the key of the Mahrattá position, were soon able to overpower the batteries from which they had so severely suffered, which spread dismay through the enemy's ranks, and forced them to retire. The terms now offered were accepted with alacrity—namely, that Holkár should be placed under the protection of the English, and should surrender to them various districts, forts, and passes; that an English force should be maintained in his territories for preserving internal tranquillity; and that he should engage never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any of the allies or dependants of the English. Some of the Páthán chiefs exhibited their disapproval of these terms by breaking them shortly after their acceptance; but they were quickly defeated, after which the whole country was reduced to obedience and tranquillity.

These rapid successes kept Scindiá steady to the treaty concluded by him, and deprived the wandering Peishwá almost of every hope of success. The Pindáris, for whose suppression the grand-army had been organized, never showed fight. Their two leaders, Kurreem and Cheetoo, quarrelled with each other as to the means of escape, not as to the means of resistance. Kurreem, attempting to fly in the direction of Gwálior, was surprised by Gen. Donkin and completely overthrown, even his wife being captured, while he himself was obliged to surrender to Sir John Malcolm a short while after. The rest of the Pindáris fled with Cheetoo in the direction of Mewár, and were hunted from cover to cover. Some of his *durrá*, or division, were traced to Mehidpore, and after the action there were pursued and cut up; but the chief himself eluded all search.

At one time he joined Áppá Sáheb and passed some time in the Mahádeo hills; but, attempting to follow the rájáh to Áseergurh after his final defeats, was refused admittance. His sole adherent at this time was an only son, with whom he now parted, father and son taking different routes to cover their retreat. The son soon fell into the hands of the English, while Cheetoo terminated his life in a jungle, where he was killed by a tiger; and with him ended the Pindári name.

The Peishwá was still pursuing his flight through the southern states of the Deccan. Báppoojee Goklá, his ablest general, rallied to defend a ghát leading to the sources of the Kristná, where his master had found a temporary refuge, but was beaten back and defeated. Rapid and wearying marches ensued, the Peishwá's army flying in a zigzag all over the Deccan, at one time approaching Mysore, and at another the banks of the Nermuddá, always distancing his pursuers by the rapidity of its flight. At Wuttoor he was joined by Trimbuckjee, who brought him large reinforcements, after which they tried to retrace their steps towards Pooná. But they were intercepted by Capt. Staunton taking up a position on the heights of Corregáum, about half-way to Pooná, where a desperate engagement was fought on the 1st January, 1818, the possession of the village being obstinately disputed by the Arabs who composed the main body of the Mahrattá infantry. Here, also, the English were at first worsted, till a resolute charge made by Lieut. Pattinson and his sepoy-grenadiers succeeded in capturing the last gun of the Arabs, and in expelling them from their post. The enemy still continued to hover about the place, but offered no molestation; and Gen. Smith's division coming up to it shortly after, the Peishwá and his followers were obliged to fall back again to the table-land near the sources of the Kristná, whence overtures for a treaty were made. But these were summarily rejected, the English Government having already determined to abolish the title of Peishwá, though they were willing to soothe the feelings of the

Mahrattá people by restoring the ráják of Sattárá—the lineal descendant of Sivájee—to some share of his former dignity. To this end Gen. Smith secured possession of Sattárá, after which he renewed the pursuit of the Peishwá. A spirited stand was made at Ashtee by Goklá, on the 18th February; but the Mahrattás were defeated and Goklá was slain. After two further actions with the same result the Peishwá surrendered, and, on renouncing his dignity and all claims of sovereignty, a pension of 100,000*l.* per annum was allowed to him, and his residence fixed at Bithoor. Trimbuckjee Dangliá was captured a short time after, and confined, first again at Tanná, and afterwards at Chunár, a liberal allowance being also made to him.

As Áppá Sáheb had surrendered himself, and as the blame of the later transactions at Nágpore did not attach to him, he was released by the English on the entire surrender of Nágpore. The terms proposed for his acceptance included the complete subjection of his military force to the English, and the appointment of even his ministers by them. To this the ráják refused to agree. He expressed preference for a liberal pension; but that was not conceded to him. He thereupon began again to intrigue and to levy troops; and secret correspondence with the Peishwá was discovered. The Resident placed him in durance; but he effected his escape. He then went to the Gonds and lived among them, and concerted with their chief, Chyn Sháh, a plan for recovering the forts of Nágpore. All attempts of the kind were however frustrated, and, a hot pursuit being made, Áppá Sáheb fled to Áseergurh, a fort belonging to Scindiá, the Killádár of which received and sheltered him. Scindiá, as a good friend of the English, sent an order to the Killádár to deliver up the fort to them; but he is said to have simultaneously sent a secret command, directing the Killádár, if he valued his head, to hold out to the last. The Killádár followed the latter mandate, and stood siege till his provisions were exhausted, after which he surrendered at discretion, on the 7th April, 1819, but not till Áppá Sáheb had been allowed to escape. The ráják went

to Láhore, where he lived the recipient of a trifling allowance from Runjeet; but the latter never received him publicly at his *durbár* to avoid giving offence to the English.

The fall of Áseergurh closed the Mahrattá campaign. The English acquired an immense accession of territory and revenue. Áppá Sáheb was dethroned, and the grandson of Rughoojee Bhonslá elevated to his place; but the whole country of Nágpore, with its resources, was virtually annexed to the English territories. It was completely acquired on a later day, when the rájáh died without leaving an heir, the right of the ránees to adopt being disallowed.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BURMESE WAR.

A.D. 1823 TO 1826.

THE disagreement with Burmáh broke out from several acts of frontier aggression on the part of the Burmese, which were first suffered to pass unpunished, but which eventually led to petty hostilities that culminated in a declaration of war. The aggressions had been constant from Arracan; but had not been altogether unprovoked, some political refugees from Burmáh having openly disturbed the Burman frontier by raids concocted at Chittagong. The difference between the outrages perpetrated on the two sides respectively, which the Burmese affected not to understand, was this, that while the British Government had no hand in the raids led from Chittagong, the violation of British territory was the act, not of private offenders, but of the court of Ává.

The immediate cause of hostilities—the spark that set the mine on flame—was a claim advanced by both Governments on a little island at the mouth of the Naáf river, which formed the boundary between Chittagong and Arracan. The Burmese threatened that if this island, which had for a long time been in the possession of the English Government, were not given up to them at once, they would forcibly take away from the English the cities of Dáccá and Moorshedábád, which they affirmed had at one time belonged to the Golden Throne. Previous to this the first blood had been drawn by the Burmese on the Cáchár frontier, which had been penetrated by a joint Burmese and Assamese army in pursuit of fugitives; and, the assailants not having been very successfully met by the English force located there, had committed many excesses with impunity.

As the whole of this frontier was only a succession of forests, hills, and swamps, the English Government, in deciding upon retributive operations, preferred to ascend the Irrawádi and open the campaign by the capture of Rangoon. To this end a large force specially selected for the enterprise was organized, consisting of H.M.'s 13th and 38th Regiments, the 2nd Battalion of the 20th N. I., and two companies of European Artillery, from Bengal; and of H.M.'s 41st and 89th Regiments, the Madras Eurasian Regiment, seven Battalions of Native Infantry, and four Companies of Artillery, from Madras: making an aggregate of about eleven thousand and five hundred men. Attached to this army were a park of fourteen heavy guns, ten howitzers, eight mortars, and twelve field-pieces; and also twenty gun-brigs and schooners, twenty row-boats, four sloops of war, and several of the Company's cruisers.

The whole expedition was placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, and arrived off the Rangoon river in May, 1824, anchoring opposite Rangoon on the 11th. The consternation and alarm of the Burmese at the sight of it was exceedingly great. Rangoon was at once deserted by them, and was occupied by the invaders without opposition. In removing themselves from it, however, the Burmese also took away everything in the shape of supplies; and, the place being surrounded by jungle, considerable distress was suffered by the English on this account, particularly in consequence of the immediate descent of the rains.

All the supplies removed from the reach of the English were retained by the enemy, who took up their quarters in the surrounding jungle, where they stockaded themselves. They were commanded by one of their ministers of state, named Thakiá Woonghee, whose orders were to annihilate the invaders. But he never came forward to carry out those orders; and when parties of his people were surprised and pursued, they seldom stopped to show fight, except when they were unable to fly. Their general practice was to fight under a cover, and to leave their dead behind

them; the survivors traversing over to other parts of the jungle, for refuge behind fresh stockades which were quickly improvised. The first strong position taken from them was Kemmendine, a war-boat station three miles above Rangoon, which was captured on the 3rd June. The enemy had laboured day and night to strengthen it, and the heights were strongly stockaded. But the strongest of these defences was carried in a few minutes, after which there was a downpour of pitiless rain, which prevented further operations for the day. When the attack was renewed next morning the other stockades were found deserted, the Burmese having gone off in the night to man their next military post, several miles in the rear.

This was the character of the war throughout. In the beginning of July, the Shoodagon pagodá, which was considered to be the key of the position occupied by the English, was attempted to be taken, the main body of the enemy boldly coming up to within half a mile of Rangoon, and commencing a spirited attack. But two field-pieces served out with grape and shrapnell soon checked their advance, after which a charge of the 43rd Madrás Infantry put them to flight.

This defeat led to Thakiá Woonghee being superseded in command by another general, named Soombá Woonghee, who adopted the safer policy of acting entirely on the defensive. He stockaded his army in the most difficult part of the forest, whence he was content to make desultory attacks nightly on the English lines. The English commander resolved to force him to a general action, and, two columns of attack being formed, one was led by land under Gen. McBean, while the other advanced by water under the Commander-in-Chief. The operations both by land and water were equally successful; and by the middle of July several stockades were taken, ten being captured in one day, with thirty pieces of artillery in them, while nearly a thousand men were killed, including the Woonghee.

The next expedition was sent out at about the end of

August, and had for its object the subjugation of the maritime possessions of the enemy. It also was very successful. Tavoy surrendered voluntarily, Mergui was taken by storm, and the people all along the Tenasserim coast came forward of themselves to solicit English protection.

These reverses roused the king of Ává to extra exertions, and he sent two of his own brothers—the princes Tonghoo and Tharawáddy—with a corps of "Invulnerables," and a host of astrologers, against the invaders. A fresh effort to carry the Shoodagon pagodá was made in September, but the result was the same as before. The grapeshot and musketry of the garrison repulsed the boldest of the assailants, and they all ran back again for the covering of the jungles from which they had emerged.

The only reverse met by the English was at Rámoo, where a detachment under Capt. Naton was cut off and some of the men and officers killed by a Burmese party led by one Mengá Mahá Bundoolá, whose success at once promoted him to the post of Commander-in-Chief, and to the uncoveted distinction of being sent against the English on the Irráwádi. He came with a following of sixty thousand fighting men, and between the 1st and 5th December made repeated attacks on Kemmendine, all of which were repulsed. He, at the same time, made desperate efforts to open his way down the river and get possession of Rangoon. These attempts were made at night, when fire-rafts were launched on the stream in the hope of setting fire to the English vessels lying off Kemmendine, or of driving them away from their moorings. But the English sailors understood the game well enough to defeat it; for taking to their boats they pushed off to meet the burning rafts, which they grappled with their grappling-irons and conducted past their ships, or stranded on the shore. After this, several petty attacks on the British posts were made, but without effect; upon which Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to become the assailant and attack the enemy opposite to

Rangoon. The attack was made by two columns aggregating seventeen hundred men, aided by a party of gun-boats to take the enemy in the rear. It was fully successful, and the Burmese fled; but they returned shortly after to make their last attack on the pagodá, and on being again beaten and driven back on the 7th, Bundoolá went and stockaded himself at Kokeen. Incendiaries were now employed by the enemy to burn the invaders out of Rangoon, and the town was in one night—that of the 14th—fired in several places. This hastened the English attack on Kokeen, and the enemy, driven from all their intrenchments and stockades, were obliged to fall back on Donabew.

In February 1825, Donabew was attacked both by land and water, the water-column being commanded by Gen. Cotton, and the land-column by the Commander-in-Chief. The first was repulsed by an overwhelming force, and made a precipitate retreat, till it was brought up again by the second. In the attack of the 3rd April, which followed, Bundoolá was killed by a rocket, after which neither threats nor entreaties on the part of the other chiefs could prevail on the garrison to stand ground, and the place being deserted was occupied by the English. Intermediately, Major Sale had entered the Irráwádi by another of its mouths, and captured Bassein; and this facilitated the advance of the main army upon Prome, which was occupied on the 25th April, without a shot being fired, the enemy having deserted it at night, leaving behind them more than a hundred pieces of artillery and an extensive supply of grain.

These discomfitures were followed by a period of inaction on the part of the Burmese, after which an attempt at negotiation was made, which fell through because the Court of Ává refused to concede either money or territory. At the expiration of the armistice hostilities were renewed; and, in November 1825, the English received a check at Wattygoon, where Col. McDowall was repulsed. This emboldened the Burmese to attempt the English lines at

Prome, the result of which was that they were defeated at all points, and completely routed. They were defeated again on the heights of Nepádee, and that position captured; and, both banks of the Irráwádi being now completely cleared, the Commander-in-Chief prepared to advance on Melloon. Attempt to gain time was once more made by the enemy by initiating proposals of peace; but the terms were not agreed upon, and Melloon was therefore attacked and carried by assault, in January 1826. A third offer of peace was now made through Dr. Price, a captive American Missionary, but ended by the levy of a new army of forty thousand men, which was named the "Retrievers of the king's glory," and came forward to give battle. It was met near the city of Pagahm, on the 9th February, the Burmese opening a random fusilade. As the English forces still moved on, the Burmese rushed forward to meet them, presenting themselves before them with wild and frantic gestures and hideous shouts. But their onset was boldly resisted by the English vanguard, and completely checked. The vanguard happening to be ill-supported for a moment, gave time to the Burmese general to rally. But the sepoys who came up immediately after fought with great coolness and bravery, and after some anxious moments, the Burmese were completely beaten back; upon which the country-people on all sides submitted to the English, and solicited their protection.

After this victory Sir Archibald Campbell was in full march to Ává, but was stopped at Yandáboo by a deputation of Burmese agents, accompanied by some English and American prisoners, who came to announce the king's acceptance of any terms the English might choose to dictate. A treaty of peace was thereupon concluded, by which the king's claims on Assam and the contiguous states of Jynteáh and Cáchár were renounced, the conquered provinces of Arracan and the Tenasserim were ceded to the English, the payment of a crore of rupees as indemnification for the expenses of the war was agreed to, exchange of accredited ministers between the two Courts

provided for, and free trade conceded to British subjects in every part of the Burman Empire.

A second Burmese war was got up, in 1852, by the arrogance of the Burmese governor at Rangoon, who set at nought the commercial treaty secured by the first war, and injured and invaded the property of British subjects in Rangoon in various ways. This affair was a comparatively petty one; and the expedition which was sent out to chastise the enemy, succeeded, in the course of three months, to capture Mártaban, Rangoon, Prome, and Pegu, which led to the whole province of Pegu being annexed. The most important change which resulted from this war was a revolution at Ává, where the reigning king was deposed by the party opposed to a continuance of the war, and his brother raised to the throne.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CAPTURE OF BHURTPORE.

A.D. 1825-26.

We have mentioned in a previous chapter* how the mud fort of Bhurtpore successfully repulsed four successive attempts made by the English to carry it by assault. The Játs, who owned the stronghold, made no figure in Indian history previous to the time of Aurungzebe, when they were best known as a gang of robbers. But the imbecility of the Moguls after Aurungzebe's death converted the bandits into a nation occupying a considerable extent of territory around the city of Ágrá. They were able on an emergency to muster seventy thousand troops; but their chief strength lay in their fortresses, among which Deeg, Cumbere, Bianá, and Bhurtpore were the most famous.

The strongest of these fortresses, in fact the strongest fortress in all India, was Bhurtpore, the rájáh of which was latterly in alliance with the English. He left an infant son, Bulwant Sing, to succeed him, and fearing lest his right should be disputed by others, implored the protection of Sir David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, on behalf of his government. This protection was promised, and when Doorjun Sál, a cousin of Bulwant Sing, having gained over a large portion of the Bhurtpore troops, seized the person of the boy, Ochterlony assembled the forces immediately available to him and proceeded to attack Bhurtpore, calling upon the Játs by proclamation to support their lawful chief. This bold procedure, however, was too daring for the nerves of the English Government; the troops collected by Ochter-

* See Chapter XXXIX., page 333.

lony were recalled, and the Resident was commanded to withdraw or modify the proclamation he had issued. Ochterlony thereupon threw up his appointment and retired in disgrace; but the Government which had insulted him to this extent had no way of its own to solve the difficulty which had arisen, and was finally compelled to adopt the measures he had planned. The crisis was hastened by a quarrel between Doorjun Sál and his brother Mádhoo Sing, which was fought out near Deeg, Doorjun Sál being defeated. This threw the English frontier in a ferment, the people dividing into parties and joining one side or the other. It became imperative, therefore, to put down the Játs by force of arms.

A large force of about twenty-five thousand men, with more than one hundred pieces of artillery, was accordingly, in December 1825, mustered by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, for attacking Bhurtpore, the garrison of which was estimated to be not less than twenty thousand strong. It was humanely proposed to Doorjun Sál to remove the women and children from the town; but the suggestion was received as an insult, and was not listened to. The siege operations were then commenced, and the batteries opened fire on the 24th December, causing great havoc in the town; but neither cannon-shot nor shell made any impression on the tough mud-wall of the fort, which was from fifty to sixty feet thick. Mines were now sprung, some of which were frustrated by countermines; but the others which exploded effected practical breaches. An immense mine charged with a vast quantity of powder exploded the whole north-east angle of the works, and this caused the largest opening. The assault was ordered on the 18th January, 1826, and the troops rushing gallantly forward ascended the breaches and cleared them, notwithstanding that they had to encounter the most determined opposition. The entire assailing force amounted to about eleven thousand men, and was divided into distinct columns that attacked from different sides. Within two hours all the ramparts of the town were in the possession of the besiegers,

and the command of the gates of the citadel was fully secured. Doorjun Sál, with one hundred and sixty chosen horsemen, attempted to force out a passage, but was prevented and made prisoner. One of his wives and two of his sons were also taken, and they were all sent prisoners to Alláhábád. The loss of the garrison from the explosion of the great mine alone was estimated at four thousand men, the total loss being little less than seven thousand. The loss of the besiegers comprised sixty-one Europeans and forty-two natives, besides whom nearly five hundred men were wounded. With the fall of this celebrated fortress the whole of the dominion attached to it was acquired, including the other forts previously named; and henceforward the entire country west of the Jumná, which had always been restless, quietly accepted the supremacy of Britain. Within the limits of India the English had no powerful enemies now to contend with. The next great war was an aggressive one, carried on beyond the natural boundaries of India.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE AFGHÁN WAR.

A.D. 1838 TO 1842.

THE Afghán monarchy was refounded in 1747, by Áhmed Sháh Dooráni, previously employed as an officer of an Afghán troop of horse in the service of Persia. Áhmed also looked at the Mogul throne in India with wishful eyes, and undertook the several expeditions into the country which we have already noticed. But, when his triumph at Pániput placed all India at his feet, either his heart failed him, or his prudence got the better of his longings; and he remained contented with the rich provinces of the Indus and the valley of Cashmere, increasing his dominions by additions in the directions of Bálkh, Herát, and Scinde. All these territories were in due course inherited from him by Soojá-al-Moolk; but, at this time, his brother Máhmood rose against him, and, aided by Futteh Khán, his vizier, succeeded in expelling him from the throne. Máhmood then became jealous of the man to whom he owed his elevation, and, finding that he had an eye on Herát, deposed Futteh Khán, and then hacked him into pieces after blinding him,—an ingratitude which was promptly avenged by his brothers, by whom Máhmood was driven to Herát, while the bulk of his territory was partitioned among themselves. The ablest of these brothers, Dost Mahomed, became ruler of Kabool and Ghazni; and, amid the distractions that followed, Runjeet Sing became master of the Punjáb, to which he added Cashmere, while Bálkh was seized upon by the sovereign of Bokhárá, and the Ámeers of Scinde became independent.

Sháh Soojá, after his expulsion from Afgháuistán, resided first in the Punjáb, and then at Loodianá, and became

a pensioner of the British Government. But he did not give up all hopes of recovering his throne, particularly as they were kept alive by promises of assistance from Runjeet, whom he had bribed by the gift of the *Kohinoor*. At this juncture the English Government suffered violently from a peculiar distemper called Russophobia, which recurs periodically, after intervals of ten, fifteen, and twenty years. The immediate cause of the fit was the siege of Herát by the Persians, who were believed to be warming the chestnuts for the Russian bear. The doctors, both of the East and the West, suggested an alliance with the ruler of Afghánistán as a good, if not an effective, remedy for the complaint; and, to secure this, an envoy (Sir Alexander Burnes) was sent to Dost Mahomed. But the conditions of an alliance could not be mutually determined, as the Dost required unqualified support in all his schemes of aggrandizement, to which the British Government would not, or could not, agree; and the British Government demanded unreasonable sacrifices from him, such as the relinquishment of all alliances with the Western Powers (meaning Russia and Persia), to which he would not consent. To checkmate him, and attain the end held in view, the British Government determined to back the claims of Sháh Soojá, and a treaty to that effect was concluded with Runjeet and Sháh Soojá, after which the necessary military preparations for invading Afghánistán were made. Thus was the greatest blunder committed by the English in India, brought about.

The force collected for the invasion was drawn from Bengal and Bombay. The former contributed two troops of horse and three companies of foot artillery, a cavalry brigade consisting of the 16th Lancers and the 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry, five brigades of infantry, an Engineer Department, and two companies of Sappers and Miners, with a siege-train consisting of four 18-pounders, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, and two spare howitzers. The contributions of the latter comprised two troops of horse and two companies of foot artillery, one brigade of cavalry consisting of two squadrons of H.M.'s 4th Light

Dragoons, and the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry, and a body of infantry consisting of two European and four native regiments. It also furnished the Pooná Auxiliary Horse, an Engineer Department, a detachment of Sappers and Miners, and a siege-train consisting of two 18-pounders and four 9-pounders. The whole of this force, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand men, was at first proposed to be placed under Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of India; but, as he returned to England shortly after, the command was intrusted to Sir John Keane. Besides this force Sháh Soojá was placed at the head of an army of his own, consisting of a troop of native horse-artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry, the whole, amounting to six thousand men, being commanded by an English officer, Gen. Simpson; while another force, called the Sháhzádá's force, was placed under the nominal command of Timour, the son of Sháh Soojá, and counted about five thousand men, who were armed almost with every conceivable variety of weapon. Civil officers were at the same time appointed to accompany these forces, namely, Sir Wm. Hay Macnaghten, as envoy and minister at the Court of Sháh Soojá; Sir Alexander Burnes, as envoy to Khelát, but acting as Macnaghten's aid-in-chief; and Lieuts. D'Arcy Todd, Pottinger, and Conolly, as political and military assistants.

The British force started in December 1838, by way of Scinde and Beloochistán, and was followed by the irregular force under the Sháh. The army was called the "Army of the Indus," and marched straight up to Kandahár, through the Bolan pass, traversing a most difficult country, in the face of constant annoyance from desultory attacks by the Beloochees and the Káhurs. The greatest distress was felt from want of water; and much loss of provisions and transport-cattle was sustained: but all these difficulties were finally overcome. The Sirdárs who held Kandahár vacated it on perceiving their approach, after which Sháh Soojá entered the place on the 25th April, 1839, and was there solemnly enthroned. The army then marched on to

Ghazni, which was attacked on the 22nd July; the Kabool gate was blown open with powder; and the fortress was carried by storm, notwithstanding the most terrific opposition. This induced Dost Mahomed to negotiate for peace; but when he learnt that the only terms which would be accepted were his resignation of the crown and residence in British territory, he drew back from his amicable advances, and retreated by Bamián into Turkestán.

The English now proceeded towards Kabool, and entered it on the 7th August, no opposition being offered to them. Sháh Soojá, brought back to his capital, was now restored to his people; but he received no royal reception from them—there was no expression of joy at his return. There is no doubt that he had a party in the country, and a strong party too; but all Afghánistán felt to a man the insult of a foreign invasion. It was perhaps the consciousness of this feeling that dictated the early removal of a large portion of the English army from the country after Sháh Soojá was seated on the *musnud;* but no greater mistake than that could have been committed: either the whole army should have been withdrawn, or no portion of it at all.

While the English occupied Kabool several minor expeditions were undertaken against refractory villages, chiefs, and forts. One of the most important of these was the chastisement of the ruler of Khelát, who had harassed the British army on its onward course. This was achieved by the Bombay division of the army when on its return, the Khán being attacked in his fortress on the 13th November. He defended the place with great bravery; but the English succeeded in storming it, and the chief was found among the slain. With this event terminated the first Afghán campaign; and a General Order, issued in January 1840, announced the dissolution of the "Army of the Indus."

The force left in Kabool was placed under the command of Gen. Elphinstone, and for a time the country retained a show of perfect tranquillity. But this was altogether

specious; the cloak under which the whole Afghán race were plotting the destruction of the invaders. The first signs of this conspiracy were seen at the commencement of 1840, in an insurrectionary movement among the Ghiljis, a tribe occupying the high mountain-territory between Kandahár and Kabool, who, accustomed to wild independence, refused to acknowledge even a show of authority. Capt. Anderson and Col. Wallace led two different expeditions from opposite directions against them, and several of their strongholds being blown up they were obliged temporarily to submit. In the meantime Dost Mahomed, having found a friend in the Khán of Kokán, came back to Afghánistán to excite the country to a holy war for the expulsion of unbelieving foreigners. He was met and defeated by Col. Dennie, upon which he withdrew into Kohistán. He was again encountered by Gen. Sale, who gave him battle at Purwandurráh on the 2nd November, 1840. It was on this occasion that the 2nd Bengal Cavalry behaved with such cowardice as left no alternative but to expunge its name from the list of the Bengal Army. Sale succeeded nevertheless in pushing forward his infantry so as to dislodge Dost Mahomed from the strong position he occupied, which compelled him to surrender. He was thereupon sent down to India, and took up his residence at Mussourie, after visiting the Governor-General at Calcuttá.

The other contemporaneous events were the defence of Káhun on the Indus frontier, which had been occupied by the English for the purpose of procuring supplies; the defeat and destruction of Lieut. Clarke's party at the Nufoosk pass; and the success of Major Clibborn at the same place, and his subsequent retreat. As a sequel to the second and third events, Capt. Brown, the defender of Káhun, was obliged to leave the fort, the Beloochees promising not to molest him if he retired to the plains, which promise was faithfully observed. The result of these reverses was a revolution in Khelát, which was lost for a time, and then re-occupied, a large army under Názir Khán,

the son of the previous chief, being routed in October 1840.

In 1841, an attack on the Kojuks, a rude tribe that had refused to pay tribute to Sháh Soojá, was repulsed; but another on a wild tribe in the Názeem valley was more fortunate. Such calls for the interference of the troops was in fact constant, most of the actions being successful, though a few were not. With the Ghiljis in particular the engagements were incessant, and their hostility towards the English was not unjustifiable. The Afgháns generally had throughout behaved unfaithfully with the English; but the English had behaved unfaithfully with the Ghiljis. On the restoration of Sháh Soojá to the throne an agreement was entered into with them by which an annual allowance was promised in the event of their keeping the Khoord-Kabool pass open. The pass was kept clear by them for a time, but no allowance was paid; and the English who supported the cause of Sháh Soojá, and who were a party to the agreement, were justly held responsible for the failure.

The Khoord-Kabool pass was beset by the Ghiljis, at the same time that the fanatical *moollás* were preaching a war of extermination against the English, and while Mahomed Akbar, the ablest and fiercest son of Dost Mahomed, was collecting troops all over the country for that purpose. It was temporarily cleared by the exertions of Gen. Sale and Col. Dennie; but the Ghiljis only retired from one place to appear in another. The garrisons left at Kabool and Jellálábád were both hard pressed by them, especially the latter, for the relief of which Sale forced his way through the Jugduluk pass, entering Jellálábád on the 13th November, 1841, after which date he held it on till succours reached him from Peshawár.

The force left at Kabool after Sale's departure consisted only of one British regiment, two regiments of native infantry, part of a regiment of native cavalry, and some foot and horse artillery, exclusive of the Sháh's contingent. These troops were scattered in every direction, and some

kept in the Bálá Hissár, or royal residence. The enemy took advantage of this; a sudden attack was made on the city on the 2nd November, 1841; the house occupied by Sir Alexander Burnes, the most competent civil officer with the army, was forced into and the inmates slaughtered; and the Sháh's treasury was plundered. A brisk attack on the city even now might have retrieved this state of affairs; but none was attempted. The entire civil charge of the expedition devolved henceforth on Sir Wm. Hay Macnaghten, an officer as void of energy and decision as the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Elphinstone, was; and between them two they managed to bring heavy disgraces on the English name. It is said that Mahomed Akbar swore that he would annihilate the whole garrison except one man to carry the tale to Jellálábád. This boast could never have been actually realized but for the indecision of the higher English officers. Individual instances of gallantry and presence of mind were constant, and these kept the Afgháns in check for a time, till Mahomed Akbar arrived in person to superintend operations, when the attacks were renewed with greater vigour, and, owing to the vacillation of the superior officers, generally crowned with success. In the last of these actions, on the 23rd November, 1841, the square of British infantry was broken, and all attempts to rally the men (H.M.'s 44th Regiment) proved vain, the whole force rushing back to the cantonment in tumultuary flight. The last to leave the field was a regiment of native infantry—the 37th; but the native cavalry behaved quite as disgracefully as H.M.'s 44th. The spirit of the whole army was now completely broken; a series of negotiations for retreat followed; and it was finally agreed that the English should evacuate Afghánistán on being allowed to retire unmolested and furnished with provisions and means of transport, Sháh Soojá being granted a pension, with the option of remaining at Kabool, or of going back to India with the returning army. But all this was a mere blind for the treachery that was being planned. The Afgháns only wanted time for

the passes to be closed by winter, to fall upon and utterly annihilate the invaders who had desecrated their mountain-home. When this was gained Akbar Khán proposed a fresh arrangement for consideration as being the best of all, namely, that Sháh Soojá be acknowledged as king, with himself, Akbar Khán, as his vizier; and, pretending that a verbal discussion would settle the question soonest, he invited Macnaghten to a personal interview on the 23rd December, to put the question once for all at rest. The bait took; Macnaghten went. It is said that he suspected treachery though he agreed to go, and that he requested Gen. Elphinstone to send a strong escort. But there was no reason for his having gone at all; and, if he did so knowingly, he was all the more to blame, at least quite as much as Elphinstone was for his remissness in taking the necessary precautions against deceit. The conference being opened the English officers were gradually surrounded by a number of armed men; when Akbar Khán tauntingly asked Macnaghten: "Are you the man to take my country?" shooting him dead on the spot with a pistol which Macnaghten had presented to him. Capt. Trevor, one of the officers with the envoy, was also killed; but two others, Capts. Lawrence and Mackenzie, were protected by the other chiefs present, and thrown into a fort to save them from the fury of the mob.

There was no spirit in the English army to avenge the murder of their envoy. Men and officers were equally anxious to get out of the scrape, and a fresh treaty was entered into which provided for the troops being allowed to depart on leaving their guns and treasure behind them, and on bills being drawn on India for the payment of fourteen lakhs of rupees to the Afgháns. Nearly seventeen thousand men passed out from Kabool on these conditions, traversing a dreary path covered with snow, in the face of blood-thirsty barbarians seeking for their lives. The sufferings from frost, snow, and hunger were dreadful; but this was slow work, much too slow to satisfy the vengeful Afghán.

At the Tunghee Tárikee pass began the work of butchery by which Akbar Khán sought for a quicker end—a general massacre by firearms, perpetrated by men perched on towering crags. It was resumed in the Tázeen valley, at Jugduluk, and at Gundámuk. A stand was made at Jugduluk, a few Europeans creeping up the acclivity of a hill to drive away their enemies, who were quickly repulsed; but they came again and again, till the final stand at Gundámuk, on the 13th January, 1842, led to the general slaughter which had long before been determined upon, which left only one man, Dr. Brydon, to convey the tale to English ears at Jellálábád. Akbar Khán followed personally with an army of nine thousand men to lay siege to Jellálábád; but the garrison turning out gave him battle and compelled him to fly towards Lughmán. It was in this action, fought on the 7th April, 1842, that Col. Dennie was slain.

When the news of the Kabool disasters reached India every exertion was made to collect another strong army to wipe out the disgrace. The collection was made at Pesháwár, then belonging to the Sikhs, and eight thousand men being got together, they were placed under the command of Gen. Pollock and sent up through the Khyber Pass. Their passage was disputed by a large number of mountaineers who kept guard over the defile; but this opposition was soon mastered by the joint efforts of the European skirmishers and the horse-artillery; and the garrison at Jellálábád was relieved on the 16th April, or nine days after they had beaten Mahomed Akbar in the open field.

In the meantime Gen. Nott was beset at Kandahár, and held out as Sale did at Jellálábád. Akbar Khán attacked the place after his retreat from Jellálábád; but he fled on finding that the English were preparing to charge, and a very near approach to it was never afterwards attempted. Relief was brought to Kandahár by Gen. England, through Scinde, in May 1842, after which the enemy were completely confounded, and obliged to retire.

The only garrison, other than the Kabool one, which did not hold out was the garrison at Ghazni; Col. Palmer, who was in command of it, agreeing, on the 1st March, 1842, to evacuate the place, as the sepoys had become frost-bitten and unfit for duty. But the capitulation did not save the retiring soldiers, who vainly thought that they would be able to make good their retreat to Pesháwár. The fanatic Gházis fell on them on the way, and massacred them, while some of the officers, including Col. Palmer, were thrown into prison.

The general state of the country was at this time one of unmitigated anarchy and confusion. Sháh Soojá was assassinated, and his youngest son raised to the throne by one party, while another party opposed him. Akbar Khán affected a willingness to support the prince, on condition of being allowed to act as his vizier; but the prince, suspecting the arrangement and not liking the position of a state prisoner, sought refuge with Gen. Pollock, whom he urged to advance on Kabool. This was at last determined upon under orders from Calcuttá, Gen. Pollock from Jellálábád and Gen. Nott from Kandahár marching simultaneously on the capital to enforce the restoration of prisoners, and vindicate the superiority of the British arms. Akbar Khán was in great hopes of demolishing this force also; but, on the 30th August, Gen. Nott defeated the party sent to intercept and destroy him, and, coming up to Ghazni immediately after, levelled it with the dust. Gen. Pollock made an equally illustrious march through Gundámuk and Jugduluk, driving the Afgháns before him over that very ground where a few months before an army of seventeen thousand men had been treacherously slaughtered. At Huft Kohtul, in the Tázeen Pass, a great victory was gained on the 13th September, after which no opposition was offered in the Khoord-Kabool Pass. The two generals then joined their forces on the race-ground at Kabool, on the 15th September, and, entering Bálá Hissár, floated the English colours from its summit.

The Afghán army now retreated to Kohistán, taking refuge at Istálif. It was pursued to that place and dislodged from it. Akbar Khán then hurried with his prisoners towards Turkestán; but, on reaching Bamián, Sáleh Mahomed, who had charge of them, and who was represented to be a man who would do anything for money, sold them to the English for a lump sum of Rs. 20,000, and a pension of Rs. 1000 a month. The total number of prisoners released was one hundred and twenty, of whom nine were ladies and three the wives of non-commissioned officers. It was stated by the natives that many more women had been captured and distributed by Akbar Khán among his chiefs, whom in an enemy's country it was found impossible to trace out or get at.* The English troops took upon themselves the easier task of collecting the bones of their slaughtered countrymen to give them a decent burial; and these for the most part were found headless, the Afgháns having carried off the skulls as trophies. As Akbar Khán retreated before the English no further operations against him were undertaken. Sundry towns and markets were reduced in several places and burnt to the ground, after which the army retreated with the prisoners recovered, back to India, through the Khyber Pass.

A more terrible discomfiture never befell the English arms in India than that in Afghánistán. The gates of Somnáth were among the trophies recovered from Ghazni, and the rotten planks infested with white ants were, after the lapse of eight centuries, restored to Guzerát, under a vaunting proclamation of Lord Ellenborough, which paraded the success of the enterprise. If his lordship had been an orthodox Hindu he would have been entitled for this act of devotion to be burnt after death in the sacred ghát of Manikarnika, at Benáres. But being what he was,

* This is the Afghán version of the story as it is still current; and it is implicitly believed in by people of all classes in India.

his act was appreciated all over India, by some as the eccentricity of genius, and by others as the folly of a madman. The British reputation for valour was not thereby enhanced; and, indeed, it is the belief to this day, not only of the Afgháns, but of all the native powers and races in and about India, that the English in this enterprise suffered a disastrous defeat.*

* There has been a recurrence of Russophobia after the lapse of forty years, and a fresh expedition has gone up to Afghánistán for *a rectification of the frontier*. The facilities under which the new invasion has been undertaken are of course much greater than those which existed in 1838-42; and there is no doubt that the military operations will, this time, be eminently successful. But the war is an unjust one; and the frontier does not require to be rectified, notwithstanding any military opinion to the contrary: and it is very much to be feared that the final results will not be altogether so satisfactory as is anticipated. There is absolutely no glory to win; while the continuous occupation of the outposts beyond the passes will necessarily involve a perpetual conflict with a pack of hungry wolves whom no amount of chastisement will ever tame, at the same time that the attendant expense is likely to be much felt by the people of India, and is apt to make them discontented and unhappy.—*9th January*, 1879.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CONQUEST OF SCINDE.

A.D. 1843.

THE discomfiture of the English in Afghánistán led to the conquest of Scinde. This country was at one time owned by the Afgháns, but was latterly ruled over by the Ámeers, in baronial fashion, on the feudal system. Its native population is extremely unwarlike, very much like that of Bengal, the dominant races having always been foreigners —either Afgháns or Beloochees. The English, after many persistent efforts, were able to establish commercial relations with the country, by which the right of navigating the Indus was conceded to them, with the privilege of sending a British Minister to the Court at Hyderábád; and on this basis they assumed many other rights. Sháh Soojá having claimed tribute from the Ámeers on the plea of Scinde having at one time been a dependency of Kabool, the English enforced the payment of the claim. When the invasion of Afghánistán was determined upon, the passage of the English army through the Punjáb being refused, was effected through Scinde. Throughout the entire period of the Afghán war the Indus was made use of as the high-road for the transmission of troops and munitions of war, and a large military force was stationed at Tattá, on the Indus, to facilitate this, for the maintenance of which a contribution was exacted from the Ámeers, on the ground that they derived much benefit from its presence there! These extortions very naturally incited the Ámeers to intrigue with Persia and the Sikhs at Mooltán against the English power. "We are anxious for your friendship," said the Ámeers to Sir James Outram, "but cannot submit to be perpetually persecuted." The govern-

ment of Lord Ellenborough, however, did not view the matter in the same light, and decided on recovering the prestige of the English arms, lost in Afghánistán, by the conquest of Scinde. The command of the war was intrusted to Sir Charles Napier, and it was his opinion and that of his brother, the historian, that great glory was won in the end by the exploits which were achieved.

The opening operation of Sir Charles Napier was the capture of a fort named Emáumgurh, the plea for it being that two of the Ámeers, who were kinsmen, had quarrelled! The fort was so situated as to be nearly inaccessible, the march to it being long, and lying the whole way through a desert. A select force of five hundred men was pushed up against it, and reached it on the 12th January, 1843. The place was defended by two thousand men, and the skirts of the desert were crowded with fanatic Beloochees. But, though the enemy repeatedly exhibited their alertness on the way, the fort on being approached was found to be evacuated. The energy of Sir Charles Napier was thereupon exercised in shattering its defences to atoms, after which the expeditionary force retraced its steps. As all this occurred when the English were yet avowedly at peace with the Ámeers, it soon became obvious what the real intent of the former was. The Ámeers did not venture even now to take to the offensive. The only opposition offered came from the Beloochees, who resented the advance of the British army by an attack on the residence of the British Commissioner at Hyderábád. The attack was commenced with a hot firing, which was kept up for hours; and the defenders of the place, finding it impossible to hold out, retired from it, effecting their retreat without difficulty, and reaching the Commander-in-Chief's camp at Hallá, in safety. This led to the battle of Meeánee, which was fought on the 17th February, 1843, in which twenty-two thousand Beloochees were defeated by an English force numbering three thousand men. The position of the enemy was formidable, and terrible was the resistance they offered. Sword in hand they braved every

danger; the greater part of the battle was a hand-to-hand fight; and their charge was so furious that it was at one time apprehended that their great superiority in numbers might leave the victory in their hands. But they knew nothing of discipline, and were easily out-manœuvred; and, on their being broken by a cavalry charge, several of their guns were captured, while they themselves were compelled to fly. Not a single prisoner was taken: the Beloochees never give quarter to an enemy, and on account of their vast numbers the English found it convenient to imitate their policy.

The battle of Meeánee was followed by the surrender of Hyderábád, where a large amount of specie, valued at three millions sterling, was found. The chief of Meerpore still held out, which led to a second engagement—the battle of Dubbá—which was fought on the banks of the Fulailee on the 24th March, the Beloochees being about twenty-five thousand strong, and the English scarcely five thousand. Like the action at Meeánee this also was hotly contested, but by undisciplined men against disciplined forces, and the result necessarily was, as before, the total defeat of the enemy. The occupation of Meerpore, which followed, closed the war. The success of the English filled the inhabitants of the country with the greatest pleasure, the misrule of the Ámeers having been nothing but an unmitigated evil to them. This, at all events, was one great justification of the conquest that was achieved.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE GWÁLIOR WAR.

A.D. 1843.

THE death of Jánoki Ráo Scindiá, without issue left the administration of his country in the hands of a widow of thirteen and a licentious Court. The widow adopted a son, a boy of eight years; but this did not in any way strengthen the government, which was constantly troubled by insurrections and conspiracies: and its difficulties were aggravated by an irrepressible army of thirty thousand men. The English Government considered itself bound by its treaties with the deceased rájáh to protect his successor, and it occurred to Lord Ellenborough that the best way to secure that end would be to occupy the country, quell all the disturbances which had arisen, and enforce guarantees for the future security of the state. To effect this two armies were despatched to Gwálior, one from Ágrá, which was commanded by Gen. Gough and accompanied by the Governor-General in person, and the other, a division of the main army, from Bundelkund, which was commanded by Gen. Grey. The first proceeded straight on to Mahárájpore, where it found the Mahrattá army drawn up in a strong position which it had carefully intrenched. The English forces were about fourteen thousand strong, with forty pieces of artillery; while the Mahrattás were eighteen thousand strong and had one hundred guns. The battle was fought on the 29th December, 1843, and was extremely sanguinary. The Mahrattás, driven from their guns, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage; but they were eventually beaten at every point. Dislodged from Mahárájpore they made a stand again at Chondá, but, after a desperate struggle there, were entirely defeated.

Their loss exceeded three thousand men, while that of the English was about one-fourth of that number.

On the same day Gen. Grey obtained a second victory at Punniár, over ten or twelve thousand Mahrattás, who lost all their guns; and the consequence of these two victories was the prompt submission of the Gwálior *durbár* to everything that the Governor-General proposed. The Mahrattá troops were now disbanded, and replaced by a British contingent paid for by the Gwálior government. The young ráják was at the same time installed on the *guddee* with great ceremony; while an English officer, Col. Stubbs, was appointed governor of the fort of Gwálior.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE PUNJÁB WAR.

A.D. 1845 TO 1849.

THE consolidation of the Sikh power and the organization of the Sikh army were both achieved by Runjeet Sing, one of the greatest rulers that India ever knew. His ancestors appeared as leaders of enterprise on the decline of the Mogul power; but for a long time the chiefs were disunited, and acknowledged no systematic government or authority. The first warrior of note in the family was, we have said, Charat Sing, who founded a *Sirdári*, or chieftainship, which was expanded into a sovereignty by his descendants, Mahá Sing and Runjeet. The improvements effected by the last were the most considerable, and included the formation of a large army officered by French and Italian adventurers trained in the wars of Napoleon I., which was really as powerful as any in India. Runjeet, nevertheless, always maintained a friendly behaviour towards the English, well knowing that his only real danger could come from that quarter, if he provoked it. When the map of India was opened out before him and it was explained that the English possessions were marked red on it while his own were marked blue, the old far-seeing soldier remarked with a sigh that, in course of time, the whole map would come to be marked red. This prophecy was fulfilled very soon after his death: the greatest king of the race being virtually also the last.

The immediate successor of Runjeet was Khurruck Sing, who was totally incompetent to control the wild spirits of which his army was composed. His Court soon became a focus of intrigues, and the intriguers found it most convenient to direct the ambition of the soldiery towards the

conquest of the English, whom all the Sikhs, old Runjeet excepted, had always believed to be weaker than themselves. Nor did this state of things mend when, by the death of Khurruck Sing and the murder of his son, Nao Nehál Sing, a short time after, the throne was assumed by Shere Sing, another son of Runjeet, though not acknowledged by him. Shere in his turn was assassinated as unfit to reign, upon which Dhulleep Sing, then an infant in the nursery, was placed on the throne, under the nominal guardianship of his mother, a frivolous woman, entirely governed by her favourites. The real rulers of the country during all this period were the leaders of the army; and, priding in their own soldierly qualities, they thought too lightly of a contest with the English, which all Punjáb seemed most anxious to provoke.

The army to attack the English frontier was accordingly openly organized. No attempt was made by the Sikhs to conceal their intentions, and a fair and timely warning of them was therefore obtained, which might have enabled the English to reinforce every post on the frontier that was weak, and mature all arrangements necessary for the occasion, if they had only believed that the Sikhs would really venture to invade their territory. To the last moment, however, the English opinion of the Sikh soldiery was a contemptible one, and the possibility of an invasion by them was utterly scouted; and it was for this reason only that the first battle was not the last.

The opening act of aggression on the part of the Sikhs was the seizure of a number of camels from the left bank of the Sutledge. This was followed by the crossing of troops, in the neighbourhood of Ferozepore, in December 1845, when Lál Sing, with twenty-five thousand Sikhs and eighty-eight guns, took possession of the wells around the village of Ferozeshuhur, while Tej Sing, with twenty-three thousand Sikhs and sixty-seven guns, occupied a position opposite to Ferozepore. There was no room for further hesitation on the part of the English after these acts. A proclamation of the Governor-General declared that

measures for vindicating the authority of the English Government would be taken at once; and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, simultaneously collected his forces at Moodkee to repel the enemy, the whole rank and file under him amounting to about twelve thousand and five hundred men, with forty-two guns. Tej Sing hastened to meet these forces with an army of thirty thousand Sikhs and forty guns, and offered them battle on the 18th December, being still determined to assume the aggressive. The contest which followed was well maintained on both sides, and was prolonged to an hour and a half after night-fall. The artillery of the enemy, well served at the commencement, was however eventually paralyzed, and that being succeeded by an attack of the English infantry and the use of that never-failing weapon, the bayonet, the Sikhs were driven from position to position, and entirely defeated. The loss on both sides was very heavy. The enemy fell back on their camp at Ferozeshuhur, while the English forces returned to Moodkee.

It was now determined to give the Sikhs battle on the ground they had themselves chosen, and to this end a junction of the forces under Sir John Littler with those of the Commander-in-Chief was effected, which raised the whole English army to about eighteen thousand men and sixty-five guns. The strength of the enemy was estimated at about fifty thousand men and one hundred and eight guns; and they were led by Lál Sing. The engagement with them took place on the 21st December, and was commenced by a heavy cannonade. The most heroic efforts were made on both sides, and night fell while the conflict was yet raging. The Sikh guns were particularly well served in this battle, and fired quicker than the English guns, namely, at the rate of three firings against two; and during the whole night this harassing fire was maintained. But retribution came with daylight, when the English infantry formed line, and, being supported on both flanks by horse-artillery, bore down every opposition, dislodging the enemy from their entire position. This left

them no option but to abandon the village of Ferozeshuhur, which they did after firing several hundred rounds of their *zumbooruks*, or camel-swivels, besides making other futile demonstrations, including a distant cannonade. Tej Sing, with his fresh battalions of *Ghorechurrás*, or feudal horse-soldiers, now made a move to retrieve the day, but the command to "form square" was instantly given on the English side, and all that the Sikhs could do was to open on the squares a continued and incessant discharge of artillery, which compelled them to change their position several times, when all of a sudden the Sikh guns became silent from having exhausted their ammunition. There was no alternative now for the enemy but to fly. The English, however, had suffered so much that they were not able to pursue them, and the advantage gained could not therefore be properly followed up.

The next engagement took place on the 28th January, 1846, at Áliwál, where a chief named Runjore Sing was intrenched with fifteen thousand men and fifty-six guns. He was attacked by Sir Harry Smith with ten thousand men. The action was commenced by a sweeping and successful charge made by the English cavalry; but the Sikhs did not easily give way. In one charge of infantry on H.M.'s 16th Lancers they actually threw away their muskets and came on with their swords and targets against the lance; and it was not till they were three times rode through that they were finally defeated, and driven across the Sutledge, with the loss of fifty-two guns and their camp, baggage, and stores.

After this the position at Sobraon, which was occupied by all the Sikhs who had retreated from Ferozeshuhur, and was defended by a triple line of breastworks flanked by formidable redoubts, was assailed and carried on the 10th February. The redoubts were manned by thirty-four thousand Sikhs who had seventy guns with them, while the assailing force numbered sixteen thousand men and ninety-nine guns. Throughout this engagement there was one continued roar of guns and mortars; but the cannonade

of the ninety-nine English guns was unable to silence the seventy Sikh guns, which returned flash for flash and fire for fire; and the struggle had to be finally decided by musketry and the bayonet. On the English side the infantry and the guns now aided each other correlatively, and by this process each defensible position of the enemy was gradually captured, after which the fire of the Sikhs slackened and then ceased altogether, the victors pressing them on every side. But, even at this extremity, the Sikh soldiery did not cease to fight vigorously, though they were precipitated in masses into the Sutledge, which had suddenly risen and was scarcely fordable. Hundreds fell under the cannonade behind them; thousands were drowned in attempting to cross the swollen current that lay before: but still no quarter was asked for by them, for they remembered that they had given none. In this engagement sixty-seven pieces of cannon were captured. The result of the victory was to scatter the Sikhs in every direction, which enabled the British army to cross the Sutledge and occupy Láhore. Dhulleep Sing, however, was retained on the throne; but a treaty was concluded with him by which the Punjáb government agreed to pay one crore and a half of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, to surrender all the guns that had ever been pointed against the English, and to disband the turbulent portion of their troops for ever. Of the indemnity two-thirds could not afterwards be made good, upon which its equivalent in territory was ceded, namely, Cashmere and the hill-states from the Beyáh to the Indus, which were sold by the English government to Goláb Sing, who had opened the negotiations of peace.

The government of Sir Henry Hardinge left a garrison at Láhore of ten thousand men, under Sir John Littler. A short time after this, it was considered expedient to remove the governor of Mooltán, named Moolráj, from his post, and appoint one Khán Sing to succeed him. Moolráj affected to acquiesce in the arrangement; but, when Mr. Vans Agnew, an assistant to the British Resident at

Láhore, and Lieut. Anderson were sent to Mooltán to complete it, they were both captured and put to death. This set the whole country once again ablaze, as the Sikhs, though defeated before, had not then been completely subdued. The outbreak at Mooltán was followed by the discovery of a conspiracy against the English at Láhore. In the neighbourhood of that city a *gooroo*, or priest, named Maháráj Sing, having raised the cry of revolt, was able to collect a numerous force of the disbanded Sikhs, who successfully prevented the British forces there from attempting any movement on Mooltán.

It was now that Lieut. Edwardes, who was employed with a small force on the Indus in the collection of land-tax and the settlement of the country, succeeded by a series of active movements to distract the attention of Moolráj, till, effecting a junction with Col. Cortlandt, who commanded a division of four thousand men at Duraye Ishmael Khán, they were able to oppose the troops of Moolráj, and compel them to take shelter within the walls of Mooltán. This was followed by the advance of Gen. Whish to the spot, with an additional force, which increased the investing army to twenty-eight thousand men; but he was paralyzed momentarily by the defection of the Sikh General, Shere Sing, who had hitherto affected to be on the side of Dhuleep Sing and the English, but had been secretly organizing a plot of treachery and treason, and now went over to join the insurgents, and effected a junction with his father, Chutter Sing, which placed a force of thirty thousand men under him. To break up this combination the Commander-in-Chief advanced in person upon Shere Sing's head-quarters at Rámnugger, on the Chenáb, in December 1848. The action at Rámnugger was not a very decisive one; but that at Sádoolápore which followed it was successful, and forced the enemy to retire behind the Jhelum. This freed Gen. Whish to renew the siege of Mooltán with an army intermediately augmented to thirty-two thousand men and one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. The town was stormed on the 2nd January, 1849, after which

preparations were made to storm the citadel, which induced Moolráj to surrender at discretion; upon which he was tried, and sentenced to death, the sentence being subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, which Moolráj justly accepted as a refinement of cruelty.

In the meantime Shere Sing, whose army had increased to forty thousand men, was overtaken by Lord Gough at the village of Chillianwálláh, on the 13th January. As in most of the previous engagements, the enemy were here also the first to open fire, upon which the English drew up in order of battle, and commenced a heavy cannonade. This was promptly returned by the Sikh guns from positions covered by jungle, with galling effect. The firing of the enemy was so awful that several brigades were obliged to fall back; while one (Pope's brigade) was so completely repulsed that the Sikhs pursued it up to the English guns, of which six were captured, though two had afterwards to be abandoned. It was only the arrival of the artillery reserves and the steadiness of the infantry on the English side that afterwards changed this aspect of affairs. It would be too much to say that the Sikhs were defeated. They left the field of battle in the possession of the English, but succeeded in carrying off the four English guns they had taken, together with five stand of colours, besides which they were also able to retake and remove most of their own guns which the English had at first been able to capture. The loss of the enemy was heavier at Ferozeshuhur and Sobráon than at Chillianwálláh, but the last was decidedly the best of the battles they fought, and they never acknowledged it as a defeat. It was in fact a drawn battle, in which the advantages gained were mostly on the side of the Sikhs, who continued to occupy their own position without any attempt being made by the English to dislodge them.

An engagement so indecisive could of course not be final. Instead of breaking the spirit of the enemy it only raised false hopes in them that a little more energy and obstinacy on their part would lead to the annihilation of

the British power. The action at Goojerát, which was fought on the 21st February, was the necessary consequence. The Sikh army engaged was sixty thousand strong, with fifty-nine guns; while the army under Lord Gough, which had been joined by that under Gen. Whish, numbered about twenty-six thousand men. The commanders on both sides had become wiser from the struggles which had preceded, and the present field was necessarily contested with a greater amount of skill. But the movements of Shere Sing betrayed a perturbed mind, and though the Sikhs fought with the hardihood expected of them, a cannonade of about three hours silenced all their guns, after which their squadrons were broken through by the English cavalry; while the subsequent advance of the whole British infantry in one body converted their retreat into a rout. This completely shattered the Sikh power, and led to the surrender of the entire army, with all the principal sirdárs, including Shere Sing and Chutter Sing. All the cannon yet uncaptured was at the same time given up; sixteen thousand soldiers actually laid down their arms; the Afgháns, who had aided the Sikhs in the last two battles, fled in dismay to their own country; and the whole of the Punjáb was immediately annexed, and became part and parcel of the British empire.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE SEPOY WAR.

A.D. 1857—58.

THE Bengal army was at one time one of the most stanch and faithful in the world, and, considering that it was composed entirely of subdued races, it was strange that it was so. There had been minor outbreaks in it in the past, like those at Vellore in 1806, at Barrackpore in 1824, and at Ferozepore in 1844; but these only involved the disobedience of one regiment, or two or three regiments, at a time, and scarcely exceeded the disaffection that is occasionally exhibited in the best-disciplined armies of Europe. For a conquered nation the sepoys had always shown the greatest reverence and admiration for, and the greatest devotion to, their conquerors. History contains no better instance of fidelity on the part of hirelings and a subject race.

But the defects of British temper were hard to bear, and were calculated to provoke some day a reactionary outbreak. The loyalty of the sepoy came in time to be confounded with servility; his faithfulness to his salt was quoted as a proof of his meanness. Cowardice could not be imputed to him, for he had fought as bravely for his masters as the soldiers drafted out of England at ten times his cost; but that faithfulness on which he prided was discredited and even contemned. His pay, indeed was scanty as compared with that of his European comrade, but he did not mind that; what he did mind was that, while the prejudices of his European comrade were treated with respect, his own were laughed at, and his religion broadly abused. These causes together began gradually to give birth to a general discontent, which culminated on

the annexation of Oude, from which the Bengal army had always, for the most part, been recruited. It is not that the sepoys felt particularly aggrieved by the annexation. They knew well enough that under the English Government they would be better cared for than they had ever been under their native princes. But their connections with the Tálookdárs, or chiefs, were naturally intimate, and those chiefs found it easy to practise on their feelings and fears.

The ostensible cause of the Mutiny was fear of religion and caste; but it was not the only, or even principal cause. The mine was long ready for the spark which at last ignited it. The English officer was at one time loved and feared as a god; but that was when he identified himself with the regiment he commanded, eat even the *ládoos** (a native sweetmeat) which the sepoys gave to him! The officer who looked with ill-disguised scorn on his men had no right to expect the same affection and devotion from them; and, if military discipline enforced an outward observance of respect, the show was an outward one only. Many of the officers were unacquainted with their men, and kept aloof from them; and, considering the honourable profession they followed, those men could scarcely do otherwise than repay such indifference with hatred and contempt.

These reasons account for the wide-spread disaffection that was discovered. The ostensible pleas for the outbreak were, we have said, fears for the loss of caste and faith. The fables on which those fears were based were preposterous; but the fears were not the less genuine. It is said that Russian spies fanned them, to avenge in India the Crimean defeat; it is certain that the titled *budmáshes* in India itself did so. The sea-imported salt was adulterated with ground bones; the *ghee*, or melted butter, was cheapened with animal fat: such were the stories sedulously propagated, the conviction of the truth of which

* It is related of Lord Gough that he used to do this frequently.

was firmly impressed, not on the sepoys only, but on all the lower classes throughout the land. Nay, cows' bones were believed to be mixed with flour, and the water of wells polluted by flesh and bones being thrown into them. If the men were asked: "With what object could all this have been done?" the reply was prompt: "Simply to make one caste of us all," which was the constant burden of the missionary's song. The Russian spies knew well how to make the English unpopular, and, if they had a hand in the matter, they did their work beautifully. The titled charlatans in the country understood the game still better, and left no stone unturned to serve their own little ends. It was they who propagated the so-called prophecy that the English Government was destined to last for a hundred years only, and, having commenced in 1757, would assuredly terminate in 1857; it was they who sent round the mysterious cakes to ascertain the feelings of the entire army, and excite the lukewarm to join the insurgent cause.

The greased cartridges were the spark that ignited the mine. Before the Enfield rifle was introduced the cartridges in use were made of a patch of cloth smeared with a mixture of wax and oil. For the new rifle the projectile had to be greased to facilitate its passage down the bore. There is no doubt that animal fat was used—beef fat, if not that of pigs; and to *touch* such fat was, to the Hindu sepoy at least, as revolting as to *bite* off the ends. The change made in the platoon exercise by which the ends of the cartridges were directed to be torn with the fingers, instead of being bitten off with the teeth, besides coming too late, did not really obviate the objection raised against their use.

The first symptoms of open discontent were exhibited at Dum Dum, in January 1857. A low caste *láscár* had applied to a Bráhman sepoy for water from his *lotáh*. This the latter indignantly refused, asking the *láscár* at the same time how he dared to make such a request. The reply was that the caste on which the Bráhman prided so much did not really

exist, for all the sepoys, both Bráhmans and others, were alike required to make use of cartridges smeared with the fat of cows and pigs. The taunt ran like wildfire from Dum Dum to Barrackpore, where discontent was shown by several acts of incendiarism. It blazed forth fully in an attempt made, in March, by a sepoy of the 34th Regiment, named Mungul Pánday, to raise all his comrades to rebellion, and in his wounding the Adjutant and Sergeant-Major of his regiment. With the exception of one man, a Mahomedan, no one volunteered to defend their officers, while, on Mungul Pánday being arrested, they all shouted for his release. Mungul Pánday and his chief abettor, the Jemádár of his regiment, were tried, condemned, and hanged; and the whole of the 34th Regiment was disbanded.

The men of the 19th N. I. at Berhampore simultaneously showed their teeth. They refused unanimously to receive the ammunition proposed to be supplied to them for a parade, and then broke into the armoury and took possession of their muskets. Vacillating subsequently, they were induced to lay down their arms, after which, with the assistance of the irregular cavalry and artillerymen at the station who remained loyal, they were marched down to Barrackpore, and disbanded. They received their punishment very sorrowfully; said that they had been instigated into revolt by the 34th; and only asked to be allowed to attack that regiment and punish it, before being sent adrift for good. But this request was of course not complied with.

At about the same time two sepoys of the 70th N. I. and one of their officers were convicted in Calcutta of having conspired to attack the fort, a mad idea, for which they were dismissed the service, though the more appropriate punishment at the time would have been imprisonment, since, mad or not, the men were certainly disaffected, and entertained treasonable intents which they should not have been permitted to ventilate. The disaffection was more general at Umbálla, where the 36th N. I. gave vent to it by incendiary acts on a large scale. At Lucknow, also, the 7th

Oude Irregulars exhibited the same feeling, and, being drawn up on parade for the purpose of being disbanded, threw down their arms and fled; a certain portion of them being successfully pursued and brought back as prisoners.

The general revolt dates from the outbreak at Meerut, in the first week of May, when eighty-five men of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry refused to receive any cartridges, though they were asked to use, not the new ones, but those to which they were accustomed.. The recusants were tried and sentenced to imprisonment from six to ten years, and then marched off to the jail. On the next day the jail was broken into by their comrades and the prisoners discharged. The 3rd cavalry was now joined by the 11th and 20th N. I. They all rushed to their arms, and, taking possession of them, butchered every European, including females and children, who came in their way, massacring many native inhabitants also, without discrimination, and setting fire to all buildings they could reach. They then proceeded to Delhi, incited that city to revolt, and then initiated there the same course of massacre and arson as at Meerut, men being recklessly hunted down, women violated and hacked to pieces, and little children tossed on the points of bayonets with fiendish delight. After satiating their appetites in this manner they went up to the palace of the king, an old man of eighty years, whom they proclaimed sovereign of India, a terrible responsibility which his fears prevented him from refusing. It is simply absurd to say that the Mutiny was organized and matured by him. No one in the palace was fit to do either. He joined the movement only from fear, perhaps also from hope.

The garrison at Delhi consisted of three native regiments —the 38th, 54th and 74th—and a battery of native artillery. All these made common cause with their comrades of Meerut and the rabble of the city; there was evidently previous concert between the parties thus brought together. An immense supply of war materials was in the magazine at Delhi. The mutineers trying to reach these, Lieutenant Willoughby ordered the magazine to be blown up, and was

himself so severely injured by the explosion that he died of his wounds. Many of the mutineers also were killed, and that enabled the remaining European inhabitants of the place to make a run for Kurnál, which was reached by some, though they were hotly pursued.

When the tidings of these risings reached Calcuttá there was a general panic among the white inhabitants, with vows of vengeance uttered in bated breath. The only man really equal to the occasion was the Governor-General, Lord Canning, who was loyally aided by several eminent civilian advisers. He had only two English Regiments in Calcuttá, and could not send them off to Delhi at once; but he instantly applied to Lord Elgin and Gen. Ashburnham, who were proceeding to China at the head of the expedition directed against that country, begging of them to divert their forces for the rescue of India; and he simultaneously asked the Governors of Madrás and Bombay to send up promptly as much assistance as they could spare. The China-expedition forces did not arrive in time to assist materially in the reconquest of India. They reached Calcuttá in September 1857, and could only be employed against Lucknow, which was relieved in November following. But the assurance that they were coming was a bulwark of hope and strength to the English already in the country, and enabled them to get through the stupendous work they actually did achieve.

The infection from Meerut and Delhi was first caught at Lucknow and Cáwnpore, and spread thence down to Ázimgurh and Benáres. At Lucknow the first symptoms of disaffection were shown by the 7th Oude Irregulars so early as the 2nd May, after which a general discontent among the troops continued, which found vent on the 30th idem, when nearly all the native regiments rebelled together, and fled towards Seetápore, whither they were pursued by Gen. Lawrence, who was however not able to capture many of them. This was followed by an insurrection in the city, and the assemblage of some seven or eight thousand rebels on the Fyzábád road. Lawrence attacked these

confidently, but was beaten back, and, finding that the cantonments and forts could not long be safely held, he, with all the Europeans at the place, withdrew into the Residency, where they were closely besieged.

On the 3rd June the 17th N.I., at Ázimgurh, rose, but, abstaining from massacres, rode off towards Gházeepore. This led to an attempt being made on the 4th June to disarm the 37th N.I. at Benáres, which was resisted, whereupon the Madrás troops under Col. Neill began to fire upon them, which sent them flying in confusion.

At Cáwnpore the 2nd Cavalry and 1st N.I. broke out on the 4th June, and on the 5th were joined by the 53rd and 56th N.I., over all of whom Náná Sáheb, of Bithoor, a titled miscreant, the adopted son of the deposed Peishwá (see Chapter XLI., p. 347), assumed a sort of general command. The Europeans there, about nine hundred souls, took refuge within a feeble intrenchment hurriedly put up, which still held out for nineteen days, after which period they capitulated, Náná agreeing to convey them safely down the Ganges to Alláhábád. But they had scarcely embarked when, at a given signal, the boatmen leapt from their vessels into the river, while a murderous fire was opened on the passengers, and the thatched roofs of the boats were set on flame. Only four Europeans escaped. Those who did not perish in the attack made on them were taken prisoners, together with the women and children, and they, with one hundred and twenty-six fugitives from Futtehgurh, were all butchered together in their prison-house just the day before Gen. Havelock arrived to rescue them. This tale of terror has been frequently described. It is scarcely possible to imagine how horrible the reality was.

The next to rise was the 6th N.I. at Alláhábád, which did so on the first week in June, after it had voluntarily come forward to be allowed to march against the Delhi mutineers; and it was soon joined by the Oude Horse. A Mahomedan Moulavi set himself up in this place as the representative of the emperor of Delhi, and directed all the acts of violence that were perpetrated, till Col. Neill was

able to save the station, though unfortunately not without punishing the guiltless with the guilty, according to his wont.

The foci of rebellion now were Delhi and Lucknow, the latter having Cáwnpore for its chief out-post. The other places where the infection had also spread were Juánpore, Futtehgurh, Rohilkund, and all the more important stations in Oude. In Central India, the Sáugor and Nerbuddá districts were intensely agitated, and so also was Bundelkund, while Jhánsi figured as the capital of outrage and revolt. There was revolt also at Nusseerábád and Neemuch, and in the dominions of Holkár and Scindiá, though the chiefs themselves remained faithful to the Government, their troops marching off to join the insurgents elsewhere. In the Punjáb, the disaffected at Meeán Meer and Pesháwár were early disarmed, but there were risings at Murdun, Jullundhur, and Loodianá, all of which however were vigorously suppressed: and a few sepoys only were able to escape from those places to swell the insurgent ranks at Delhi.

The first advance of a British army against Delhi was made under Sir H. Barnard, who laid siege to the city on the 8th June. He was not permitted to take up a position unopposed, and in the conflict which ensued, the mutineers were actually headed by European traitors! When the complaint was so loud and bitter against the faithlessness of a conquered race, what shall we say of the English, Scotch, and Irish deserters who fought against their own countrymen for filthy lucre, to aid a rancid cause? The mutineers were frequently beaten back, but Barnard was not able to take Delhi by a *coup*. He was not able even really to invest the city, and several times had great difficulty in repelling the enemy. He at last died, worn out by fatigue and vexation, and his successor, Gen. Reid, resigning from ill-health, the command of the siege devolved on Brig.-Gen. Wilson. The entire force before Delhi at this moment amounted to about seven thousand men, while the number of the mutineers within it was not

less than sixteen thousand, and was increasing daily. Brig.-Gen. Nicholson arrived with further reinforcements on the 14th August, and commenced active operations by a victory gained over a rebel army at Nuzuffgurh on the 24th. The siege preparations to cannonade the city were now more actively proceeded with, and two breaches being effected, an assault was made on the 14th September. The contest was a most sanguinary one, but in great part successful. The assaulting party had been divided into four columns, of which one only was defeated and driven back, while the other three gained all the towers, bastions, and ramparts they had operated against. The combat was continued all through the 16th, 17th, and 18th September, on which last date a considerable portion of the south part of the city was taken. On the 19th an attack was made on the palace, one of the gates of which was blown open, after which the city was fully occupied. No quarter was given on either side. The king and his family fled, but were overtaken by Capt. Hodson, and this brought the siege of Delhi to a close. The pursuit of the rebels thence was conducted by Col. Greathed with crushing activity.

In the direction of the other great centre of revolt, the first battle of Havelock with the rebel army was fought at Futtehpore, and the next near the Pándoo Nuddee, in both of which the enemy were defeated. It is affirmed that this second action, which was fought on the 15th July, hastened the catastrophe at Cáwnpore; but there is no doubt that Náná had planned the outrage from the first. He was defeated in person at Akerwá, on the Grand Trunk Road, on the 16th, Havelock proceeding thence to Cáwnpore on the 17th, to find with grief and vexation that he had come too late. He hunted Náná to Bíthoor, and took and levelled his palace with the ground; but the fiend bore a charmed life, and effected his escape. Neill was now sent for from Alláhábád, and was left at Cáwnpore, where he perpetrated those avenging acts of violence which brought so much discredit on the English name. Havelock in the meantime endeavoured to pass on to Lucknow, and

on the way to it gave Náná another terrible defeat at Oonáo. But the enemy mustered strong around him, and he was eventually obliged to fall back and join his forces with those of Neill; nor was he able to stir forth again till Gen. Outram came up with further reinforcements in the middle of September, when they all resumed their march on Lucknow, after winning a splendid victory at Mungulwár on the 21st.

The joy of the Lucknow garrison on the arrival of Outram and Havelock was great, though the relieving force was very inconsiderable—only a little above two thousand men, while the rebels who disputed their entry were about fifty thousand strong. The command of operations was assumed by Gen. Outram, as senior in command; but they were confined for the time merely to beating back the enemy, whom the English were not yet strong enough to drive away. Fresh relief came at last with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, in November; but, even with this addition, the total English army at Lucknow at this time did not exceed six thousand men. The operations of Sir Colin were necessarily confined to a series of isolated sieges and bombardments; but he conquered his way step by step to the Residency, and the garrison were finally relieved on the 17th November, and afterwards conveyed to Cáwnpore for greater security. Several attacks on the outposts at Cáwnpore were made by the Gwálior contingent which had arrived at that place; but they were beaten back, and on the 6th December there was a general engagement, in which the enemy were completely defeated, after which they fled towards Bithoor.

Cáwnpore being now safe, the Commander-in-Chief again advanced upon Lucknow, after active operations in the intervening country; while Jung Báhádoor approached more slowly in the same direction from Nepál. The attack on Lucknow was made in March 1858, the attacking army being about twenty-three thousand strong. The first few days were spent in skirmishes, after which the enemy commenced a series of assaults on the besieging force, which

were invariably repelled. The English batteries opened fire on the 9th March, and on the 10th the first or outer line of defence was conquered. The resistance was desperate; the contests extremely bloody. By the 17th the English were complete masters of the city; but the dispersion of the rebel forces was not effected till a long time after. Henceforth the war all over India was only a war of pursuit, lengthened out more and more as the bands operated against began to split up and get scattered. Leader after leader was followed up and defeated; traitor after traitor captured and punished. The arch-traitor Náná alone eluded even the most vigorous pursuit made after him, and has not been taken to this day. Some believe that he is dead; but others assert that he is yet alive—either in Nepál or Thibet.

The proclamation announcing the suppression of the Mutiny was issued in 1859. Nothing more heroic than this reconquest of the country is to be found in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"THIS is a country well worth fighting for," exclaimed William of Orange, when looking down from an elevated position on one of the beautiful landscapes of Ireland. The same, we believe, must have been the feeling of every invader of India from the time of Semiramis to that of Clive. It was her beauty, her richness, and her fertility that made her so long, what she seems to have always been from the remotest antiquity, the principal battle-field of Asia.

But this very misfortune seems to have conferred on her an advantage not of petty importance; it made her the home of several martial races, albeit not so hardy as the races of the North. Our conquerors are accustomed to laud their own deeds of heroism; and well they may do so for all that their arms have achieved. But they should at the same time try to appreciate the heroism of a people that has fought and suffered—fought, to be defeated and trampled upon by stronger men—for not less than four thousand years. Clive won the battle of Plassey at the head of three thousand men; five hundred and fifty years before him Buktyár Khiliji conquered Bengal at the head of eighteen horsemen only. But because Bengal has never fought for her freedom it does not follow that all India has not done so. Stabrobates repelled the Assyrian army from the banks of the Indus; Alexander would never have conquered Porus but for the latter's differences with Taxilus and Porus the Younger; Mahomed Ghori was defeated by Prithu Ráj at the battle of Tirouri, and only succeeded afterwards in consequence of the feud between Prithu and Jayachánd; Báber, after conquering the Páthán, was all

but defeated by Sanga, who had unfortunately no artillery to silence the Mogul guns; Áhmed Sháh Dooráni was so violently dealt with by the Mahrattás at Pániput that, though victorious, he wisely refrained from assuming the throne of Delhi; and the English, in their day, have had ample occasion to know—at Seringápatám, Assaye, Chillián wálláh, and elsewhere—that the natives can fight, and fight well—not only from the valour of the enemies by whom they were opposed, but from that of the very hirelings who fought on their behalf. If these pages enforce any conviction it is this that, particular provinces excepted, India is peopled throughout by fighting races, who may have been frequently defeated in the past, but are at all times ready to fight over again. The science of war has not been well understood by them; and hence in the battles waged by them they have always trusted to their numbers and their courage. But the men who came forward to fight were not spiritless cowards. Under French training the Sikhs and the Mysoreans became, what the English found them to their cost, almost as good soldiers as any that the second-rate European countries have ever turned out: and those who have had English training are in no respects inferior to them at this day.

This then may be admitted, that there are in India itself the best materials required for her defence, and that if the Government is able to utilize those materials properly it shall never have occasion to apprehend the brightest gem of the British crown being snatched away by a foreign hand. We do not believe that Russia has any designs on India; but, even if she had, she has no chance whatever of success, unless the English be untrue to themselves. Of the latest invaders Nádir Sháh brought with him an army variously estimated at between seventy and one hundred and sixty thousand men, while Áhmed Sháh's army, it is known, was about eighty thousand strong. In our day the Sikh armies, that opposed the English and were defeated, were never less than fifty thousand strong; but it

would be a compliment to the Russian army to say that it is equal in soldierly qualities to the Khálsá host. Unless, therefore, Russia can send down to India a trained army of eighty thousand men—which means a total force not less than one hundred and sixty thousand strong, for half the number must be left on the route to hold it and keep it open—she has no business in India. For an army eighty thousand strong the English Government seems to be pretty well prepared at all moments; to oppose a stronger army it has ample materials at hand which can be easily made serviceable.

This, all comers should understand, is the actual position of England in India. In the calculation, however, we assume peace and accord within India itself; and it is here that the real difficulty of the English Government lies. If the English are disliked in India, that is owing less to mistakes in their policy than to their haughty temper, by which they have created more enemies in the country than by any official irregularity. Misgovernment and neglect in the administration are now things of the past; a very intelligent acquaintance with the country has been acquired by its rulers, which has already led to great improvement in the condition of the people. But the English rulers have not yet acquired what the French, for instance, would have mastered at the very outset, the art of making the natives their friends; and all Britain should understand clearly that till this art is acquired her hold on India must necessarily be insecure. The sword has nowhere been able ever long to retain the conquests made by itself; and it would be well, alike for the governors and the governed, if it were even now distinctly understood that it was English pride only, and nothing else, that made the sepoy army mutinous. The Government has been loudly congratulating itself that it has got rid of a bad bargain, that its present army is better constituted and more faithfully attached to it than was the last. But these are fallacious hopes and anticipations if the English in India fail continuously in

the respect that is due to the rights and feelings of the races they rule over. What is imperative, therefore, is that they should look to their social manners now as carefully as to their public policy and administrative efficiency. One lesson has been given, and a fearful lesson it was to all parties concerned. It depends on the rulers of the country themselves to prevent its being repeated.

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THE

RUINS OF THE OLD WORLD,

READ AS MILESTONES OF CIVILISATION.*

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE history of ancient civilisation is a very instructive lesson to learn, and no less interesting than it is useful to us. The seats of that civilisation were the south of Asia and a small portion of Africa, for the Greeks and Romans only brought up its rear. Asia was the cradle of mankind, the place to which their origin is usually traced, and where every phase of their advancement, religion included, was developed. A world in herself, she has every variety of production and every variety of climate, together with the greatest facilities for internal communication. The stand-points of civilisation were the banks of her great rivers, namely, of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Indus and the Ganges, the Hoang-Ho and the Yangtse-Kiang, which made the countries about them easily accessible. Alongside of those rivers arose the capitals of the world, and from these centres were diffused a knowledge of literature and the arts. Similarly, civilisation in Africa was born and nurtured on the banks of the Nile, whence it radiated northward to Greece and Rome.

* The grounds gone over in the following pages have been so well trodden by actual travellers that some apology for the appearance of the present work seems to be absolutely necessary. The explanation is simply this: Some twenty-five years ago the author wrote for the *Calcutta Review*, for December, 1853, an article on "The Ancient Cities of the World," which purported to be a review of

In a great measure civilisation is but the result of natural advantages. The wild steppes of Central Asia could not be, and were not, very favourable to it; still less the cold bleak countries further to the north. This was also the position of the immense bulk of Africa, and, so far as the first ages were concerned, of almost the whole of Europe. The two latter divisions of the world and the north of Asia were, in fact, virtually unknown to the ancients, and Central Asia was only known as the abode of nomad tribes that formed nations of conquerors, among

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Mr. Buckley's *Great Cities of the Ancient World.* Dr. George Smith, in his article on "The First Twenty Years of the *Calcutta Review*" (which will be found in the *Calcutta Review* for July, 1874) was pleased to saddle that contribution on Lieut. Hardy. The author does not know if there is, or ever was, any officer of that name in Her Majesty's Indian service; but he is certain that no Lieut. Hardy will ever come forward to claim the paper so courteously assigned to him. In subsequent years the author felt a great desire to revise the article he had before very hurriedly written; but, as he read more and more on the subject, a mere revision, he saw, would not meet the requirements of the case fully, and hence the re-casting of the whole matter in its present form.

It is right to add that the author does not pretend to any especial qualification for the task which has come thus to be undertaken by him; and, *primâ facie*, the objections to his having undertaken it are certainly great. Where a personal knowledge of the places described was wanting, there was no guarantee for the descriptions given being wholly faithful or correct, and he dares not assert that those given by him are so in every instance. But, as was stated in his article in the *Calcutta Review*, he thought, and still thinks, that with the piles of travellers' books yearly published before him, the time was not inappropriate for a stationary traveller to go over the great globe without actually moving from his cool verandáh or his warm fireside, and that the fashion of writing Herodotus-like, after personal investigation, was no longer peremptorily called for. The facts stated by him are those of other writers, and it is possible that in re-stating them in his own way the author may have occasionally been led into error. But it does not follow that the inferences drawn out, or the conclusions arrived at by him, are, for such casual mistakes, necessarily erroneous or misleading; and he fully believes that they are not so.

With this explanation, the work is offered to the public for what it is worth.

whom there was no civilisation except after their settlement and intermixture with the races in the south. Horde after horde of these conquerors were periodically absorbed, civilised, and enervated by the south, and the records of their fightings form the staple matter of general history. With such history, however, we have no concern at present. There is a better phase of history revealed in the monuments which were erected in the centres of civilisation, which we are anxious to understand. We learn from those monuments, and from them only, the institutions and laws, the religions, manners, and customs, of the remotest generations of our race. A single building enables us, in most cases, to decide correctly what degree of civilisation was attained by the country in which it was erected, while a succession of buildings explains more fully the progress of that civilisation, almost stage by stage; and it is in this light that we wish to review them. A cursory description of buildings, unaided by plans and sections, may not qualify the reader to grasp the subject laid before him with scientific precision; but it will still suffice to give him a general knowledge of it, and that is all we aim at. With materials apparently no better than clay and bitumen, Babylon, the marvel of the old world, was raised, and we are anxious to appreciate that fact in its integrity, not only as respects Babylon, but all the other great centres of the past.

Civilisation is not solely the product of modern times, as is often unreflectingly asserted. There were great nations in the world, with a high order of refinement, before our era, and the greatness and civilisation of our day have only been correlatively derived from them. We are apt to consider antiquity as an isolated stage, unconnected with the mass of subsequent records; but in reality all the cycles of historical evolution are linked together, and the present is simply the result of a succession of phases and blended influences. The Greek and Roman powers were the result of the Assyrian and Egyptian powers that had preceded them. Without Egypt and Assyria, without Persia and

India, there would have been no Greece or Rome, and without Greece and Rome, no England, no France, and no America. We are anxious to understand this truth in its fulness, and to explain it. Assyria, Egypt, Persia, India, and China acted and re-acted upon each other from our earliest knowledge of them, and, in the flux and re-flux of progressive development, they imparted and experienced influences that helped them all to a parallel civilisation. How great that civilisation was can only be discovered from the vestiges the ancient cities have left behind them, which speak a language that cannot well be misunderstood.

The improvement of the human race must have been progressive; but the first start in all places appears to have been Heaven-directed, and was probably for that very reason more remarkable than can otherwise be accounted for. If Providence ordered the dispersion of families in the days of Peleg, the reunion of families was brought about a short time after also by the Divine Will, and led to the formation of society and of political confederations. If the first era of our history after the deluge commences with the confusion of languages, the very next era gives us at once the establishment of great monarchies throughout the south of Asia and in the north-east corner of Africa. History has not handed down to us any detailed information in respect to the development of these monarchies and the improvements they initiated; but there is no question that the art of building was among other benefits one of the first to be acquired. It seems almost to have been known from a period anterior to the deluge, for the very first efforts of man after that visitation were, we read, directed towards the erection of a gigantic tower on the plains of Shinár, from which the inference is that he knew how to build before that era. It is true that the erection of the tower is said to have been superintended by a supernatural being named Etanná; but that does not qualify the inference that the small beginnings in the art had been previously made. We have no records of those beginnings; we are not told when the arts of brick-making and stone-

cutting were learnt. Our very first acquaintance with the old world exhibits to us an enterprising race busily employed in erecting stupendous walls and embankments, excavating sepulchral chambers in the bosoms of mountains, and piling stones of immense magnitude one above another to erect monster palaces and temples. Where stone was available it was plentifully used; where it was not available they lost no time in shaping the materials which were to take the place of stone, and the materials employed of course dictated the form and character of the architecture adopted. How was the knowledge of such appliances acquired? How is the marvel of their application accounted for? One of two inferences is unavoidable, either that the old world was not then in its infancy or adolescence, as our chronology makes out, or that the Assyrians, Egyptians, and their contemporaries had more manhood and more intelligence conferred on them in those days than we have in ours. We do not reject the first surmise, but attach greater importance to the second, namely, that some four thousand years ago the races that peopled the world, whether known as genii, giants, or Cyclops, were more inventive, more robust, and more active than the generations which people it at present. The proofs of their labour, patience, and industry are yet before us. Time or barbarity, or both, have deprived us of many of perhaps the very best monuments that they were able to raise; but the specimens left are still sufficient to impress us with a high sense of their knowledge and power. We behold astonished the difficulties they mastered, the amount of work they got through; and try to account for their success by extraneous suppositions. But what we hold to be so uncommon was perhaps not very extraordinary to them. The pyramids of Egypt and the towers of Babylon, the cave-temples of Sálsette and Ellorá, and the Great Wall of China, probably came off as easily from their hands as St. Peter's and St. Paul's have done from ours.

It was a race of giants then, that erected the fabrics

whose ruins we admire. What was the extent of knowledge among them that those ruins attest? If they establish anything they establish clearly that the invention and improvement of the arts were among the first and happiest fruits of the institution of Government, and that the nations which were earliest formed into regular states also made the greatest number of discoveries. We have heard it repeatedly asserted that house-building is no proof of civilisation and intelligence, as if it were possible to erect any extensive building in furtherance of a purpose without a knowledge of many arts. The great fallacy is to regard house-building as handiwork only. We should never forget that even the rudest specimen of a house requires a design. The first hut of the savage is made of rushes and clay, and represents the crude development of his intellect. When the desire to improve his residence arises it is certain evidence of a further development of the mind. If the buildings of the past, which we see but in fragments only, indicate a design and the fulfilment of that design; if they were made to answer a purpose and did answer that purpose to the extent intended; if the parts were so arranged as to be good-looking without being inconsistent with their proper uses; if the ornaments with which they were decorated were not inappropriate and did not fail to please; the evidences of constructive skill and a cultivated mind become too apparent to be denied. House-building is besides a useful art, quite as much as ship-building or weaving, and to that extent at least the proof of civilisation is manifest.

The vast buildings of the past indicate great manual power. The halls at Kárnak, the Buddha temples in India, the sepulchral mounds of Etruria, are all massive buildings the largeness of which almost strikes us with surprise; but their largeness, it occurs to us, is a proof not of manual power only but of an extensive knowledge of mechanics, nor of mechanics alone, but of geometry, arithmetic, and the exact sciences generally. The stones used in Thebes and Persepolis are so astoundingly large in size that it is

not understood at present how they were moved about and raised. No mechanical expedients now known would enable us to place them in the positions they occupy. This, as we have ourselves suggested, is doubtless a proof partly of the prodigious strength and activity of the ancients; but it is assuredly a proof also of great mechanical skill, and of a knowledge of those sciences without which that skill could not have been well developed. The plans of the buildings erected exhibit moreover a thorough knowledge of circles, squares, triangles, and tangents; in Egypt, we find astronomical ceilings; in Babylon and Nineveh, the traces of libraries; and the bas-reliefs, sculptures, and paintings met with everywhere are indisputable evidences of genius, taste, and skill. If all these proofs together do not establish a high state of civilisation, we may well deny that there is any civilisation in the world even at the present day. They maintain that architecture is a technic art, the forms of which may be handed down traditionally and its principles practised mechanically. Even this argument would not tell against the first inventors of the art, who laid down the principles and forms; but we do not depend on that reasoning only. We appeal from the buildings to the sculptures and paintings we find on them, since neither sculpture nor painting is a mechanical art. Where a high standard of these was attained a high intellectual standard must have preceded to have secured it.

The development of civilisation seems to have been simultaneous in Egypt and Assyria, though Assyria is held to have been the first-peopled country of the world. The facilities in both countries were absolutely the same, consisting of broad rivers and a fertile soil, and were equally availed of, the people naturally taking to industrial occupations. The results also were similar, but necessarily marked by local differences; for while in one country they built with bricks, in the other they built with stones. Of the architectural remains now seen the Egyptian are for that reason found to be more ancient, for of the first Assyrian period no relics remain. Along with the Egyptian and Assyrian

vestiges should rank the Indian and Chinese ruins, if there were any of undoubted antiquity to be seen; but the dates of the latter are extremely doubtful, and we propose therefore to notice them separately in a later portion of our inquiry. The subject does not admit of being chronologically reviewed, for of the old countries the oldest buildings are not everywhere extant.

The independent architectural styles with which the old world started were two only, namely, the Egyptian and the Assyrian, the former of which appears to have partially affected the Indian style, while the latter, formed on the banks of the Euphrates, expanded on one side to the Mediterranean shore, and on the other all over Persia. The Indian and the Chinese styles must also have been of about the same age, the former resembling the Egyptian style in some respects, though differing from it widely in others, while the latter was altogether at variance with both. The developments in Persia and Ionia were later, but simultaneous, though Persia, being the conquering power, shot ahead of the other within a short interval. Grecian art began in the eighth century before Christ, or after the expiration of the dark ages in Greece, the Doric and Corinthian styles being modifications of the Egyptian style, and the Ionic of the Assyrian style. The cycle of ancient arts and civilisation was closed with the name of Rome, the style adopted by which was a conglomeration of all the previous styles.

Of the above styles the two best known among the oldest are the Egyptian and the Assyrian, both of which, essentially distinct in every respect, were worked out independently of each other and of all others. If Babylon was built earlier than Thebes no vestiges of that early age remain, the oldest ruins now seen bearing the name of Nebuchadnezzar engraved on the bricks. As the fact now stands, the ruins of Babylon are less old even than those of Nineveh, for Nineveh was destroyed by the father of Nebuchadnezzar in conjunction with Cyaxares, king of Media, and therefore before the era when Babylon was

rebuilt. The architectural style of the two cities appears however to have been very nearly the same, namely, that which has been made familiar to us by the excavations of Botta and Layard. The buildings were all made of bricks, but were remarkable for their majesty, greatness of design, and barbaric splendour, in which respects at least no edifices of later periods were ever able to excel them. They were generally one-storied, though some of them in Babylon may have been higher, and were built on platforms or hills of clay faced with stone, to give them a fictitious elevation. The architects had the skill to adapt the form of structure to the materials available to them. The art of preparing lime was known; also the mixing of lime with river-sand, for several buildings were plastered, and so well plastered that the coatings cannot even now be taken off from the fragments on which they are seen. Forests did not abound in the country, which made it difficult to procure wood, and hence vaulting was largely resorted to, the vault being made of bricks. Vaulting was also understood, we find, in Mycenæ and Etruria some twelve centuries before Christ. The principle of the common arch too was known in Assyria, Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere, and so well understood that the arch was never made use of when it could be dispensed with, for the ancients knew what we do not generally know even now, that the introduction of arches in a building only gives rise to complicity and confusion and by forcing a perpetual strain or pressure on it eventually hastens its destruction.

Egypt presents a style of building very different from the Assyrian, the chief feature of it being that it was worked out in stone. Stability was what the Egyptians sought for, and eternity is stamped on the very ruins they have left behind them. The buildings in Egypt were palace-temples, and so also were those in Nineveh, with this broad distinction between them, that in Egypt the temple element was predominant, and in Nineveh the palace element. The architectural style of Egypt was necessarily mainly adapted to the temple form, and was so true

and appropriate that it was adopted by Greece and Rome, the principal buildings in which were also temples. It is doubtful if any of the styles borrowed from the Egyptian style was an improvement. There was a greater parade of constructive skill about the later styles, but not the same amount of solidity and repose as in the former. What was wanting in the Egyptian style was a knowledge of proportions, and this was wanting because the Egyptians did not seek for beauty. They built for eternity, and beauty and proportion were forced to make room for strength: and that they attained what they sought for is evident, for the ruins of Thebes exist, after having witnessed the rise and downfall of Tyre, Persepolis, Athens, and Rome. This was the object the nation had striven to secure. They transported heavy clods of granite from place to place, squared them with the greatest precision, smoothed and polished them as they have never been better smoothed and polished anywhere else, and set them up with an artistic exactness which has scarcely been rivalled. Their sculptures were perfect, as perfect almost as any in our day; their hieroglyphics were grandly cut and coloured; and their large avenues of sphinxes, rams, and other colossal figures gave to their edifices an exclusive peculiarity. But the buildings, as we see them, represent a halt. Their framers had reached a degree of civilisation beyond which there was no progress for them; and to halt was to die.

The other antique styles were the Indian and the Chinese, the Etrurian and the Mexican. The Indian style was inferior in manliness of view and loftiness of aspiration as compared with the Egyptian and Assyrian styles, but was unrivalled for patient elaboration of details, and was always worked out with elegance and care. The development of temple-building in India was greater even than in Egypt, and all the buildings now seen are excellent specimens of indefatigable labour; but they represent a much later age than the Egyptian, for of early India no specimens remain. The Chinese style was at all times very unlike the styles of other countries and nations, and bears such

a peculiar character that it cannot be classified with any of them; nor is there much of art in it to value or appreciate. The style of Etruria was Cyclopean, but no vestiges exist of it at present, except of some sepulchres, tumuli, and canals. The Mexican style was rude but striking, and had a great resemblance to the Egyptian and Indian styles, as the Peruvian style had to the Etruscan, the result in both cases being apparently fortuitous.

The architectural style of the Assyrians culminated in Persepolis, and was also represented in Susá and Ecbátaná, but *minus* the temple element, of which we see no trace in Persia. It travelled likewise to the Ionian coast; but the Greeks in adopting it for their own country modified it by fusing the Egyptian style with it, after divesting both the styles of their vastness, which the Greeks did not appreciate. A new feature of refinement and beauty was now introduced, and is traceable both at Persepolis and Athens, at the latter place more than anywhere else. The beauty of Greek architecture rests almost exclusively in its simplicity, knowledge of proportion, repose, and harmony. The Romans introduced a more complex and ambitious style, emulating the vastness of Egypt on the one hand and the artistic grace of Greece on the other, without attaining either fully, but still producing a marvellous compound which can never be sufficiently admired. The ages of Pericles and Alexander were the great epochs of Grecian knowledge and skill; while the Roman epoch commenced with the reign of Augustus and was prolonged to that of the Antonines. Within this latter period the Syrian cities, Baálbeck and Palmyrá, were either rebuilt or restored, and the buildings in them are found to be partly of the Ionian and partly of the Roman style. After the Roman period come the Christian and Saracenic styles, to which we shall not refer. The ancient world perished with Rome, and we need count no landmarks of civilisation beyond the Roman age.

The general character of architecture throughout the old world was uniform, though not precisely the same,

the principal buildings erected everywhere being either palaces and temples, or temple-palaces, the last the necessary result of the union of the two offices of king and priest. With the establishment of monarchies the establishment of a solemn and public worship seems to have been coeval; and the construction of the temples and palaces necessarily went together. The religious feelings of the peoples had in fact developed even before the establishment of civil society among them, and civil society only gave those feelings a fixed and uniform shape to prevent differences of opinion which otherwise would, in that age, have been extremely embarrassing. Hence the union of the offices of king and priest in particular places, where it was held convenient that the person who communicated the divine will should be the same with the person who gave effect to it. As one of the first acts of the kings was to raise indestructible houses to themselves, it was natural that they should wish simultaneously to honour their divinities by raising to them edifices at least as indestructible as their own; and, where the kings took no separate edifices to themselves, the temple-palaces were, as a matter of course, *par excellence* the best built and most ostentatious. This was the case especially in Egypt; and also in Nineveh, where however, the priestly character being subordinated to that of royalty, the temple was nothing more than an adjunct to the palace. The most prominent, perhaps the only exception to the temple-building rule was Persia, which, cultivating the religion of Zoroaster, had no buildings, or parts of buildings, especially set apart for religion. While the other nations worshipped Bel, Nebo, Ammon, Phtáh, or Melcárth in houses made of brick or stone, the Persians worshipped Áhoormazd in the open air, and the only vestiges in Persia therefore are of palaces and tombs. In all places the palaces and temples are found to have been built on platforms, that is, till we come to the Greek and Roman periods, when they began to be built on rocky eminences, which was also the practice with the Mexicans and the

Jains. The temples of the Babylonians had their corners, and those of the Mexicans their sides facing the points of the compass; but the other nations do not appear to have been equally particular in respect to their position, except the Hindus in some parts of India, where the temples and *dáláns* always face either the south or the west. In India, the oldest temples now seen are those cut in the solid rock, which seems to have been peculiar to the country. We have rock-excavations elsewhere also, but generally as chambers either for the living or the dead, with perhaps the exception of the Khásné, or Pharaoh's temple, at Petrá.

After the temples and palaces the most important buildings of the past were the tombs, which were of diverse kinds, including rock-tombs, pyramids, and tumuli. Of the pyramids the only noticeable specimens are those in Egypt, the tomb of Cyrus in Persia being also partly of the same character. The best specimens of tumuli are to be seen in the Troad and in Etruria; while rock-tombs exist in Egypt, Petrá, Etruria, Persia, Sidon, and Athens. We have no tombs of any kind in Assyria, which seems to indicate that the Assyrians had not the same veneration for the dead as the other old nations had. In Egypt the excavated tombs are all found in the neighbourhood of Thebes, and the pyramids in the neighbourhood of Memphis. The royal tombs in Persia are all rock-cut, with the exception of the tomb of Cyrus above referred to. Palmyrá has the best specimens of built tombs, some of them being four or five stories high. Etruria exhibits tombs of three kinds: sunk-graves, rock-tombs, and tumuli. All the tombs in Petrá are excavated. The rock-tombs and temples were necessarily easier made than erected buildings, but are undeniable proofs of great ingenuity and skill, and where the rocks excavated are hard, as in India, they are also proofs of great labour and patience.

Of works of public utility the vestiges are slender, and none are to be seen anywhere except in Egypt, Etruria,

and Rome. We read of the lakes and canals of Nitocris in Babylon, but there are no traces of them at present. The Báhr Youssouf in Egypt exists to attest the glories of lake Mœris, which regulated the flowings of the Nile. In Etruria, the remains of the tunnels which drained her swamps and rivers are yet to be seen; and eternal Rome still exhibits the traces of her Cloacá Maximá and her highways and aqueducts. We also see in China the grand Yunlo Canal, which runs a distance of about eight hundred miles, but which, finished by Kublai Khán, can hardly be reckoned among the wonders of the past. Anyhow, we have evidence enough to show that in the past they did emulate such undertakings as heartily as we do in our day, if not as scientifically also. When we read of such achievements as rivers turned off from their course for the erection of bridges and embankments, and their overflowings controlled by the excavation of canals and lakes that the diverted water might be used for irrigation in the drier seasons of the year, we almost doubt if in real professional genius the most ancient architects were very much inferior to our own. The greatest of all modern works, the Suez Canal, was, we find, attempted by Pharaoh-Necho, in his day, and would doubtless have been accomplished if the mechanical appliances of the age had, in all respects, been equal to those of our own. In respect to workmen, the oldest seem to have been absolutely the most skilful and dexterous, and if superiority over them in developing artistic beauty and elegance was acquired by the Greeks and the Romans, we must not forget that it was only the natural result of greater wealth, a more extensive accumulation of knowledge, and greater facilities of comparison which the Greeks and Romans, as compared with the Egyptians, were able to secure.

Of domestic architecture no certain specimens have come down to us of an earlier date than the era of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Of the houses in Babylon and Nineveh we have nothing but imperfect verbal descriptions, those in the former being stated to have been in some cases three

and four storied, and in the latter in no case more than two-storied, while the majority of them in both places are supposed to have been one-storied only, the palaces in Nineveh being no higher. Similarly, in Egypt, among the sculptured representations, one is of a private house three stories high, and provided with windows and shutters; but the palace at Medinet-Háboo is two-storied, and the doubtful building at Gournou, which is regarded by some as a first-class private building, is one-storied only. At Persepolis, Athens, and Rome also there are no remains of any private houses, any more than at Babylon and Nineveh. The existing houses in Benáres are found to be five and six storied, and those in the past are believed to have been equally high; while the houses in China, although extremely convenient, are seen to be one-storied and low. The general evidence seems therefore to indicate that, in most places, the private houses were built on a much smaller scale and of more perishable materials than the public edifices, and that in exceptional cases only they were three and four storied, or higher still, as in Benáres at present, and in Carthage in the past. We may at the same time take it for granted that where the palaces and temples were so grand, the private houses, if smaller and made of less durable materials, must have been at least tastefully finished and well decorated.

The opinion last expressed is confirmed by what we see at Pompeii, which exhibits faithfully the private dwellings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, the city having been half Grecian but belonging to the Roman age. It does not represent the age of the Parthenon, but the corrupt age when Christ was born, when the Greeks had become thoroughly depraved and the Romans were getting down-hill also. Specimens of houses of all classes are here given, perhaps excepting the best; and generally, the buildings seen correspond well enough with the descriptions of the Greek and Roman buildings that have come down to us. All these houses are found to have been one-storied. Some of them have staircases leading to the roof, and even

traces of an upper story, which however contained no apartments fit to live in; and this, we take it, was the general fashion in the past, when height appears to have been reserved for public edifices only. The tower of Babylon, we read, had an elevation of 606 feet, the pyramid of Cheops is 480 high, the Kootub Minár at Delhi 240, the porcelain-tower at Nanking 238, the great pagoda at Tanjore 200, the column of Antoninus in Rome 176, and the Coliseum 162; but it is doubtful if a single private edifice in any of the places named attained an elevation of forty feet. In Benáres of the present day many of the private houses, in common with the temples in it, are built of stone; but this could not have been the case anywhere generally in the past, for all traces of the houses would not then have died out.

The cities of the past were of immense size, and the public edifices contained in them were of corresponding dimensions and height, a result usually attributed to the facilities despotism commanded for concentrating all its energies on one single point. There is some truth of course in the assertion that vanquished races were employed by conquerors to erect monuments of their greatness; but that surely is not the whole truth: and the share of truth is still less in the other assertion that the natural subjects of the king were oppressed and forced to humour his vanity. It was not possible for great works like those of Thebes, Babylon, and Persepolis, to be erected under the tyrant's rod; it was not possible for so much of taste and skill to develop under force only. The mind does not unfold its faculties freely under the lash and the cane, and if there ever was a free unfolding of the mind it was in the places named. If the ruins of Thebes and Persepolis had not existed, if the relics of Nineveh had not been rescued from the mounds under which they lay buried, we might have had any say of them we liked; but, seeing them before us, can we reasonably maintain that they are no better than heaps of stone or earth raised by slaves? The remains of Thebes were venerable for their antiquity when Plato lived,

and survive to the present day almost in the same state of preservation as then. Who knows how many later generations may yet continue to admire them? Shall we say of such relics that they had no mind to create them, but were merely the works of slavish hands—works that have outlived the most celebrated mind-creations of Greece and Rome?

We are so startled by the evidences given of the advances made by the ancients in the arts and sciences that we are never weary of asking ourselves why there was no further improvement in the ages that followed. We have proofs before us of a degree of knowledge absolutely astounding for the age in which it was developed; but after that development there was a halt. We ask—Wherefore? And does not history fully explain the reason for it? The young world, God-directed, worked on at a rapid rate from the time of the immediate successors of Nimrod to that of Cyrus, from the second to the third historical era, which embraced a period of about fifteen hundred years. The distinct sovereignties of India, China, Assyria, Egypt, and Media exhibit within this period the same startling growth and development; but, China excepted, we find them all shrivelled up together at the era of Cyrus, when the force that impelled them to greatness was lost, spent, or withdrawn. We have not the history of these fifteen hundred years in its fulness before us. We have the names of some sovereigns given to us, and even the correctness of the names to which we were hitherto accustomed is now disputed. But the one indisputable fact remains unaltered, that the uncertain era of fifteen hundred years was abruptly brought to a close by the forced union of all the independent sovereignties into one empire by Cyrus. Do we still ask why the ancient nations did not continue to flourish and develop their energies afterwards? Was it possible for the Egyptians and the Assyrians to go on as before, acquiring new lights and bringing their first discoveries to perfection under the thraldom of a foreign race? Why then have the far-famed productions of India disappeared

under the benevolent despotism of the English? It was no longer the same Assyrians and the same Egyptians now as those who had lived and worked before, who had discovered the arts and sciences they illustrated. The world now passes through another phase to which the older nations were unable to accommodate themselves. We have now the era of Persian greatness unfolded to us, which culminated in the production of Persepolis, but which in duration was exceedingly brief. The tide of conquest moved eastward from Greece, and the Persian empire was crumpled up and destroyed, which brought to the fore the periods of Grecian and Roman development. We are captivated by the refinement and polish of these last-named periods; but the Greeks and Romans invented nothing. What the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Indians had discovered they improved. The work left unfinished before was now completed; but the Greeks and Romans had no new lights of their own to go by. All their lights were the old ones, borrowed from those very nations whom in the pride of their greatness they traduced as barbarians.

The cities of the ancient world were, we have said already, raised of different materials in different countries. Those brick-built have gone down into dust, their sites being barely traceable by the inequalities of the ground where such are yet perceptible; but those built of stone still stand, and are to be seen in their ruins. Babylon, Susá, Ecbátaná, and Memphis, might have been disowned altogether by us as mythical, if Thebes and Persepolis had not survived. The former were built of clay, burnt or unburnt, and have got mixed with the clay under them; the latter were built of the rocks of the earth, of which man's most durable monuments are made, and vindicate their greatness to this day. Their utterances would have been heard with still better effect if all their remains could have been preserved where they stood; but this it was not possible to secure. Many of the very best relics have been lost to the countries that owned them, having been either forcibly carried off, or abstracted by

covetous hands, to be sold to amateurs in distant lands; and this spoliation has gone on from the days of Rome. Of course, nothing could be thus removed without destroying the general harmony of the ruins, which look bald in the absence of their best ornaments. The sacrilege, however, was not preventable, and in our day at least there is full justification for it. What has been taken away has been appropriated for the study and admiration of connoisseurs, and to be preserved and handed down to future generations, while had they been left where they originally stood they would most likely have been lost under the all-levelling rage of the barbarism that reigns over those places at present. Since it was not possible to preserve them on the sites on which they were raised, since to have left them there was so apt to have hastened their destruction, it is better to see them safely stowed in Paris or London than exposed to the fury of the wild Arabs in their native plains.

CHAPTER II.

THE RIVAL-CITIES OF ASSYRIA.

BABYLON and Nineveh, the rival-cities of Assyria, are usually regarded as having been the first settlements of the human race, and may therefore be noticed by us before all others. According to the Bible the first generation of men after the deluge travelled from the foot of the Ararat, where the ark had rested, and settled in Shinár, where they attempted to build a city, and a tower the top of which was to have reached unto heaven. This was defeated by the tower being overthrown by a hurricane and the language of the builders being confounded; after which Nimrod acquired possession of the country and began to colonise it. The beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calnáh, in the land of Shinár," after which he went forth from the land of Shinár and founded Nineveh. Nineveh was therefore contemporaneous with Babylon, and built and inhabited by the same race that had settled in that city; but at this time they both ranked below the other cities founded by Nimrod, Erech taking the lead.

Babylon was founded somewhere in B.C. 2300, or about seventeen hundred years after the creation of the world; but it had no great development till the era of Semiramis, some three or four hundred years later. The original object of Nimrod was only to find fixed abodes for the nomads who followed him, and to establish political society among them; and according to oriental tradition he was the first to wear a kingly crown. But he did not do more for Babylon than he did for the other cities he initiated, and after his death the attention of his son, Ninus, seems to have been wholly diverted to the aggrandizement of

Nineveh. It was Semiramis who, after the death of Ninus, removed the seat of government to Babylon, and made it a great city; so that in one sense Nineveh was older than Babylon though founded after it, for the traditional reign of Ninus, who built Nineveh, preceded that of his widow Semiramis. It may be that Ninus and Semiramis, if there were real sovereigns bearing such names,* had one object in common between them, namely, the erection of two capitals for Assyria, one for the flat country and the other for that which was more mountainous, into which the Assyrian empire was naturally divided.

The era of Babylonian greatness extended almost from the foundation of the city to its conquest by Cyrus, in B.C. 536, and may be subdivided into three distinct periods, namely, the reigns of Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nitocris, the wife of Evil-Merodach. Modern research has supplied us with some additional names, such as those of Urukh and Igli, the first of whom especially has the reputation of having been a great architect; but readers in general still prefer to stick to the old names with which they have hitherto been familiar. The era of Semiramis is hazy, though probably not altogether mythical, and a great many things are attributed to her which she could not possibly have accomplished. All the great works of the first period are associated with her name, principally because the names of their actual authors are not distinctly known to us, and, also, on account of the halo that surrounds the memory of a queen whom the ancient writers describe as having been one of the greatest, if not the very greatest benefactor that Babylon ever had. Besides the removal of the seat of government to it, which contributed most to its aggrandizement, Semiramis has the reputation of having erected the outer walls of the city, built two palaces which graced the two banks of the Euphrates, connected them

* The inscriptions found at Nineveh speak of several queens bearing the name of Semiramis, or Samáraymat, which seems to have been a common name in the country.

externally by a bridge and subterraneously by a tunnel, raised mounds and embankments for the protection of the place from inundations, and laid the foundation of the temple of Belus or Bel. A great many centuries after her Nebuchadnezzar, whose era is not fabulous, is said to have added a new palace to the city, erected the hanging-gardens which, Quintus Curtius says, presented at a distance the appearance of a forest growing on its native mountains, raised a threefold wall round the inner town, and completed the towers of Bel and Nebo which had remained unfinished from the earliest times. After him again, Nitocris has the credit of having founded all the hydraulic works of the city, which included the excavation of artificial canals and a lake, the raising of higher embankments than Semiramis had given to the river-banks, and the lining of the banks with brick.

A very minute description of the city as it existed in its glory is given by the ancient writers, especially by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. All these accounts are believed to be more or less exaggerated; but, after reducing the exaggerations to an ascertained measure, the substratum that remains still gives us a most marvellous story. The city stood on a large and fertile plain, and was fourteen miles long and fourteen broad, that is, a perfect square in shape, having an area of one hundred and ninety-six square miles. The walls were 85 feet thick and 300 high, and were surrounded by a deep trench full of water. They were pierced by one hundred gates, all made of brass, with brazen posts and lintels; and at intervals between the gates were towers, some two hundred was fifty in number, which were ten feet higher than the walls. The number of streets were fifty, each 150 feet wide, of which twenty-five went one way and twenty-five the other, crossing each other at right-angles and terminating on both sides at the gates. Besides these there were four half-streets, that is, having houses on one side only and the city-walls on the other, and these were 200 feet wide. The crossings of the streets divided the city into six hundred and seventy-six squares, all of which were of equal size. These squares had

houses opening on the streets; but the houses were not contiguous, besides which the space in the middle of each square was vacant, that is, occupied as yards, gardens, and cultivation-patches. The city was therefore in reality not so extensive as in appearance, more than three-fourths of it (or nine-tenths, as Quintus Curtius makes out) being virtually unoccupied. It was equally divided by the Euphrates, which ran right through it from north to south, and which in its turn was, as we have said, crossed by a bridge above and a tunnel below; and the banks of the river were lined with quays, which were pierced with gates answering to the streets that led to them.

Gibbon, after reducing the exaggerations of the ancient writers, allowed to the city a circumference of about twenty-five to thirty miles; and it could not well have been smaller if there be any truth in Xenophon's statement, that when Cyrus took it the inhabitants of one side of the town were not aware of the circumstance till three hours after the occupation of the other. Exception has also been taken to the size of the city walls, and the height assigned certainly does read as incredible; but, considering that a portion of the old ramparts of Nineveh have been mistaken for a ridge of hills, and seeing what the Great Wall of China is at this moment, we still hesitate to pronounce the account given of the walls by the ancients to be altogether untruthful, or even fabulously extravagant. Their thickness is thus accounted for: they were built of mud encased in brick, and any thickness could of course be obtained in this way by rulers having a large command of labour. That they were held to be impregnable is sufficiently proved by the historical facts (if they are such) that Cyrus was only able to enter the city by drawing off the waters of the Euphrates and passing over the shallow bed of the river to the unguarded quays, and that Darius, having been repelled from the walls, demolished them in his anger after having taken the city by an artifice.

Herodotus speaks only of one palace in Babylon, from which it may be inferred that in his day the old palaces of

Semiramis had gone into decay. The palace on the eastern side of the river after having fallen down appears to have been reconstructed by Nabopolassar, and then extended by Nebuchadnezzar; but that on the western side was probably never rebuilt. It is said of the principal palace of Semiramis that it was beautifully ornamented with a mixture of painting and sculpture representing men and animals and hunting scenes, in one of which the queen was exhibited on horseback throwing a javelin at a panther, and in another Ninus slaying a lion; and the existence of some bronze statues in it is also referred to. The palace of Nebuchadnezzar must have been at least as well decorated; and, we read, that even the outer walls which surrounded it had hunting scenes painted on the bricks, and an infinite variety of sculptures representing all kinds of animals to the life. In general terms Berosus describes this palace as having been remarkable both for its height and splendour; and, if many of the private houses of the city were three and four storied, as Herodotus mentions, it is not likely that the palaces should have been less imposing.

The hanging-gardens were attached to Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and enclosed a square of 400 Greek feet, and were carried up aloft into the air by terraces one above another, till the height equalled that of the city walls. The entire pile was supported on arches, the construction of which was apparently well understood; and it was strengthened by a thick wall which surrounded it on every side. The top of the arches was overlaid with flat stones, over which was a layer of reeds mixed with bitumen, and over that again two rows of bricks cemented with plaster. The whole was finally covered with thick sheets of lead, upon which the mould of the garden was spread out: and to water the garden there was an apparatus on the topmost terrace for raising water from the Euphrates by means of an Archimedean screw, the principle of which must necessarily have been known.

Alongside of one of the palaces, it is not clearly stated which, stood the tower of Bel, the most remarkable edifice in the city. Its height is not very precisely known.

Herodotus does not mention it; Diodorus speaks of it in general terms, saying that it surpassed all belief; Strabo only gives the measure at one stadium, which answers to about 606 feet, the height of the largest pyramid at Gizeh being only 480 (now 450) feet. The base of the building was a square, on which foundation the tower was raised in eight square stages, one above another, each receding gradually towards the top, the ascent to it being by steps on the outside. On the summit was a large temple and an observatory, the former dedicated to Bel, under which name Nimrod is said to have been worshipped, while the latter was used for watching the stars, for which study the Chaldeans were so famous. We need not trouble ourselves to decide whether this was or was not the original tower which was thrown down by a hurricane. It is now generally accepted that it was not; that Semiramis commenced this tower on an entirely different site, to commemorate the greatness of her father-in-law. There was another temple at Borsippá, in the suburbs of Babylon, which was built exactly on the same plan as that of Bel, though it was not equally high. It was raised in seven parts instead of eight, and had the reputation of having been completed by Nebuchadnezzar for the worship of Nebo, each part of it being also severally dedicated to the seven spheres, namely, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, and painted black, orange, red, yellow, green, blue, and white respectively. This edifice is identified with the tower originally erected by Etanná, namely, that which was overthrown, and which lay an untouched ruin for many centuries. Of both these buildings the four corners, not the sides, exactly corresponded with the cardinal points, which appears to have been the characteristic of all temples in Chaldea. The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar speak of many other temples in the city, but the above two appear to have been the best known at all times.

Of the private houses in Babylon much is not mentioned, but it is believed that their number bore no proportion to the space enclosed by the city walls. We have already

referred to the statement that many of them were three and four stories high, from which it may be concluded that the majority of them were one or two storied only. As a rule the ancient nations devoted their best energies on their public edifices, private convenience being less cared for, and perhaps less understood. Most of the private buildings were probably made of frail materials, such as reeds and clay, and the like; while even those that were more substantially built do not appear to have been designed to be indestructible.

Like the Nile, the Euphrates overflows its banks, and the best of all the sovereigns, Nitocris, was largely employed in preventing the city from being endangered by these inundations. To this end two canals were cut at a considerable distance above the city, which turned off the waters of the river into the Tigris whenever their bulk was increased by the melting of snows on the mountains of Armenia. She also excavated a lake, which, Herodotus says, was forty miles square, probably by deepening one of the natural swamps caused by the overflowings of the Euphrates, and, with the earth dug out, she raised prodigious embankments on both sides of the river, commencing from the canals and extending beyond the limits of the city. To facilitate the construction of these works the course of the river was temporarily turned off into the lake, which enabled the queen to line the river-sides with brick, and to repair or reconstruct the old tunnel and the bridge which stood on stone piers fixed in the bed of the stream. She also lined the lake with stone and mortar, retaining it after the waters of the Euphrates were allowed to resume their natural course, both to prevent the river from being at any time uncontrollably obnoxious, and to make its excess water available for agricultural purposes throughout the year.

Such, in general terms, is the account which has come down to us of ancient Babylon; but we have no similar account of Nineveh, which had ceased to exist before the historic era. Nineveh was destroyed about a century and a half before the birth of Herodotus, and, when the father

of history passed its site on his way to Babylon, he appears to have taken no notice of the ruins. The city was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, a little above the point were the Zab flows into that river, and has been described by Diodorus after Ctesias as having been of an oblong form. Strabo says that it was larger than Babylon; and the length usually assigned to it is eighteen miles, and the breadth twelve, which gives an area of two hundred and sixteen square miles. The walls were 100 or 150 feet high, and so broad that three chariots might be driven together on them abreast; and on these walls were fifteen hundred turrets, each of which was 200 feet high. Of the internal arrangements of the city no ancient accounts exist. It was appointed to be inhabited by the richest Assyrians only, and by such foreigners as could keep up a suitable style of living, and was necessarily full of palaces and villas, the spaces between which were probably occupied by private houses. The most magnificent edifice in the city was a monument erected by Semiramis to the memory of Ninus, which remained a long time after the destruction of other buildings of the same date. The later monuments were erected by Sennácherib, Esarhaddon, and Sárdanapalus, or Asoor-Bani-Pál, as the name is now read, and were yet to be seen above-ground in the time of Adrian.

In the earliest records of the human race the names of Babylon and Nineveh appear as those of the primal seats of political society and civilisation, and this reputation they retained for a long succession of ages; but the history of neither city is yet very well known to us. Founded by the same individual they became distinct after a few short reigns, were again united and again separated, and thus alternately separating and reuniting proceeded together almost upon the same line, the same events and the same obscurity being as it were common to both. At the time of Nimrod they both ranked below the other cities around them. We have seen that Nineveh was first aggrandized by Ninus, who made it the capital of the Assyrian empire, and that that arrangement was set aside almost immediately

after by Semiramis, who transferred the seat of government to Babylon. The growth of Nineveh was then fostered by the kings who succeeded Semiramis, and, when Assyria Proper and Babylonia became two distinct provinces, Babylon was for a long time nothing more than a dependancy of Nineveh. From the time of Tiglath Pilesur I. to the revolt of Nabopolassar, that is, from B.C. 1100 to 626, Babylon had no separate existence; but, even when thus reduced, it was always a dangerous dependancy, and had several times to be severely visited for its revolts. On one of these occasions Sennácherib is said to have razed the city to its foundations; and Babylon of course repaid the compliment on Nineveh whenever it was able to do so. Nabopolassar founded the Chaldean empire in Babylon, after which he conducted the last expedition against Nineveh in conjunction with Cyaxares, the Median, in B.C. 626, when the capital of Assyria Proper was destroyed, overwhelmed probably by a mighty conflagration that it might never rise again. Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar was necessarily without a rival, its real greatness commencing after Nineveh had ceased to exist. It now became once more the seat of government and the centre of traffic, and continued to be so till the final destruction of the Assyrian empire by Cyrus, when, as the Bible expresses it, the hammer that had broken other nations was destroyed in its turn. Nineveh had been so ruined that it had ceased to be all but a name; but Cyrus did not demolish Babylon after the same fashion, though he is said to have put all the citizens found in the streets to the sword. The defences of the city were subsequently pulled down by Darius, who levelled its walls with the ground and carried off its gates; and, after him, Xerxes completed its ruin when, on returning from his Greek expedition, he availed himself of a revolt in Babylon to destroy the temple of Bel and other buildings, and plunder all the riches of the city to recoup himself for his expenses in Greece. After this, Babylon was converted into a royal park and the winter-residence of the kings of Persia, con-

tinuing to be a city of note to the time of Alexander the Great. Alexander found the temple of Bel a shapeless ruin, and intended to rebuild it; and he attempted other improvements also to repair the general condition of the city, in which he was anxious to fix the seat of his empire. The Euphrates always overflowed its banks, and it was only by confining the river that the Babylonians had been able to preserve their city. The Persians, on obtaining possession of it, had placed obstructions in the middle of the river to hinder its navigation. Alexander had these impediments removed; but, as he did not live to complete the works he designed, the city after his death fell into worse condition than it was in before, being again exposed to the inundations of the river. From this time it began to wear a deserted appearance, and Seleucus Nicator contributed to complete its ruin by building Seleuciá in its neighbourhood, which not only deprived it of its commercial importance but also of the best portion of its materials, with which the new city was constructed.

The ruins of Babylon stand near the town of Hilláh, and formed an unsolved problem for a long time. The ancient writers gave to the city the form of a square divided by the Euphrates into two parallelograms. Modern research also gives it the same form, but divided by the river into two triangles, the square, like the Chaldean temples, having its angles looking towards the chief points of the compass. The ruins on the eastern side are three mounds called Mujilibe or Mukálibe, Kasr, and Amram, the two latter enclosed within two lines of ramparts lying at right-angles to each other. The Mujilibe mound, which is the most extensive and north-most, is situated in a break in one of the ramparts, and consists entirely of sun-dried bricks and clay, of which the platforms of all the Babylonian buildings were made. Its name implies "turned topsy-turvy," but it is believed to represent the ruins, not of the first tower, but of the temple of Bel. There are no traces of a tower in it at present, which is accounted for by the fact of Xerxes having broken down the tower, after which its ruins

served for twenty centuries as a quarry to brick-hunters. The mound called Kasr is also extensive, and from some fragments of solid walls found in it and the superior quality of its materials generally, it is regarded as the site of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, which the designation borne by it seems also to imply; besides which several bricks have been found there with the name of Nebuchadnezzar engraved on them. All the temples and palaces of Babylon stood upon platforms made of crude bricks, and these form the bulk of the mounds to be seen; but neither the ground-plans nor elevations of the buildings can now be conjecturally given. The bricks composing the Kasr mound are fire-burnt and ornamented with inscriptions; and glazed and coloured tiles are also found in it in abundance. The fragments of walls found are, some of them, provided with ornamented niches, while others are pilastered; and among the other relics pieces of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, and marbles, are frequently met with. The Amram mound is believed to represent the old palace of Semiramis, but the ruins are so ancient that it is not possible from them to make out their original character. The other remains within the eastern triangle are scattered and irregular heaps, many in number, but not otherwise remarkable. The double line of ramparts enclosing the triangle does not seem to be very ancient, and is supposed to belong to the Parthian times. On the western side of the river traces of ruins exist; but the mounds, though numerous, are less conspicuous than those on the eastern side, except the Birs Nimroud, the hightest of all the mounds in Babylon, which is at a considerable distance from the other ruins. This mound has an elevation of 198 feet, and is surmounted by a broken tower rising out of a mass of rubbish, which is still about 37 feet high and 28 broad. It has been taken by many writers as the remains of the tower of Bel, and if it had been on the eastern side of the river there would perhaps have been no difference of opinion on the point. As it is, it is generally believed to represent the ruins of the temple of Nebo, which stood on the site of

Etanná's tower. All the mounds on both sides of the river are broken into deep-caverned ravines and long-winding furrows from the number of bricks taken away from them. For centuries the ruins have served as a quarry, out of which were built Seleuciá, Ctesiphon, Bagdád, Kufá, Kerbeláh, Hilláh, and other towns. The richer relics of Babylon have thus come to be all but exhausted.

The ruins of Nineveh lie opposite to the modern city of Mosul. The site was discovered by Rich, a Political Agent of the East India Company at Bagdád, after which the remains of the city were disinterred by Botta and Layard, after having remained buried for above two thousand and four hundred years. The extent of Nineveh, as of Babylon, had long been disputed. The great mounds on the site now are Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsábád, and Karamles, and these taken as the four corners of the city give just a circumference of sixty miles, which the ancients claimed for it. The largest of the mounds is that of Kouyunjik, and the next to it that of Nimroud, the latter representing the original site where Ninus built his palace, which was subsequently rebuilt by Sárdanapalus. All the mounds have been excavated, the palace of Sárgon being discovered at Khorsábád, that of Sennácherib at Kouyunjik, and those of Esarhaddon and Sárdanapalus at Nimroud. The best appointed of thes buildings is the palace of Sennácherib, which is also the largest, not being surpassed in extent by any building of the old world except the temple of Kárnak at Thebes. The next best palace is that of Sárgon. All the palaces are distinguished by slabs of sculptured alabaster on their walls, and their general plan also is very similar, the main elements consisting of courts and large central halls, with a number of small apartments, never fewer than forty or fifty, grouped around them. The ground-plans of the buildings and about seventeen feet of their elevation are all that are to be seen at present; they bear no traces on them either of windows or of any props to support a roofing. It

is supposed that the apartments were lighted from above, as we find was the case in Egypt, or through the doors only, as are the modern houses at Bagdád and Mosul, in which for the sake of coolness the rooms are kept as dark as possible. No remains of roofing have been found, and it is necessarily a matter of opinion how the apartments were covered. Layard thinks that they had only a projecting ledge which afforded shelter and shade to a certain extent, while the centre was left open. It is difficult to understand this, as the pavement being made of sun-dried bricks nothing would have prevented its being converted into mud if it had been left so exposed to the rains, even though they seldom came. The security of awnings has been suggested, but could never have been a permanent arrangement. The alternative suggestion is more reasonable, that many of the buildings were probably vaulted, while some of them may have had ceilings of fir and cedar transported from the forests of Hermon and Lebanon. The chambers are seen to have been long and narrow, and the walls made of sun-dried bricks with a panelling of sculptured slabs. The slabs were cut from eight to ten feet high, and from four to six wide; but they did not go up the whole height of the walls, the upper part of which was built either of baked bricks richly ornamented, or of sun-dried bricks covered with a coat of plaster, on which were painted figures and ornamental friezes of elegant designs.

All the buildings of Nineveh were of great extent and magnificence, and the heaps of brick and rubbish near them indicate that some of them at least may have been two-storied, though no remains of a staircase have anywhere been discovered. They were erected, like the Babylonian buildings, on artificial platforms, which still exist, and, in fact, indicate where the palaces and castles stood. The fortifications around the palaces are also traceable in different directions, though no trace has been found of the walls 100 feet high which surrounded the whole city. The reason of this is easily understood, for the entire city of Mosul was built of materials excavated from the site of

Nineveh, and the walls would be the first to be attacked for bricks. It is on this account too that the mounds nearest to Mosul have not been found on excavation to be so rich of materials as those which are more distant. Some travellers have noted that the Gebel Makloub mountains are of artificial construction and probably the remains of the old wall on the north-eastern side of the city. If this surmise be accurate, and there is hardly fair reason to suspect otherwise when we know that the mole of Tyre is artificial, we have in those mountains perhaps the very best evidence of the stupendous greatness of Babylon and Nineveh. No detached temples have been found in Nineveh as in Babylon, with the exception of one at Khorsábád, which seems to have been built of seven stages, and on the plan of the temple of Nebo, though it did not resemble it in height. As a rule the temples in Nineveh seem to have been merely appendages to the palaces, at the corners of which several nondescript buildings are to be seen which are supposed to have been exclusively devoted to religion. Of private dwellings there are no vestiges at all. If made of undried bricks mixed with chopped straw, as is the practice in Assyria at this day, the materials once allowed to fall would naturally mingle with the soil and in a few years be undistinguishable from it; and the plough of the husbandman does frequently turn up fragments of such materials in the neighbourhood of the mounds.

Both Babylon and Nineveh were well-fitted by their position to be the first seats of empire and civilisation, and became so. The clay around Babylon was very superior, and the bricks, whether sun-dried or kiln-burnt, became so firm and durable that they still retain the inscriptions with which they were impressed. In its neighbourhood, at a place named Is, there was a plentiful supply of naphtha or bitumen, which fully made up for the dearth of lime; and with these bricks and this bitumen was Babylon mainly raised. Bitumen was the cement used in the lower parts of all the Babylonian edifices, both because it was more plentifully and easily obtained, and also as a protection

against damp and wet; but lime was used in the upper parts of the buildings where bitumen would not have equally answered. Sun-dried bricks formed the interior of the masses of large foundations and platforms, but all other portions of every important building were formed or faced with bricks manufactured in the furnace. That a scientific knowledge of architecture was possessed by the builders is proved by the use of buttresses, arches, drains, and a variety of external decorations, and also by the character of the masonry turned out. Nowhere, says Rich, is such masonry to be found as in the ruins of Kasr; and the cement used was so strong that traveller after traveller has endeavoured in vain to chip off the smallest fragment of Nebo's tower, the only ruin still partly standing. The advantages on the side of Nineveh were even greater than those possessed by Babylon, alabaster or gypsum having been largely available to it from the lowlands between the Tigris and the hill-country; and the architecture of Nineveh was accordingly characterized by a mixture of stone with brick to an extent which Babylon was never able to command. This enabled Nineveh to preserve the records of the nation on the tell-tale stones, both by sculpture and cuneiform inscriptions. The forms of the divinities and the exploits of the kings were engraved on them, while the history of the people and their sacred hymns were inscribed in written characters; and these slabs have survived the wreck of less substantial materials, by which in fact they were, on being thrown down, both covered and preserved.

In general features the buildings of Babylon and Nineveh seem to have greatly agreed, with this difference that those of Babylon were made of burnt-bricks, while those of Nineveh were made of sun-dried bricks, the latter marking an earlier date when burnt-bricks had not yet come into general use. The other prominent differences to note are that the houses of Babylon are said to have been two, three, and four storied, while those of Nineveh were

perhaps in no case more than two-storied, and that the decorations of the former were of enamelled brick, while those of the latter were of alabaster, the one however being in all respects almost an exact counterpart of the other. Of bas-reliefs in Babylon no specimens have been preserved, and the only Babylonian statue yet seen is the figure of a colossal lion standing over the prostrate figure of a man in the Kasr mound, which has been so worn out by exposure as not to be remarkable except for its size. The relics excavated from Nineveh, of which a very large portion is now in the British Museum, show sculptures of all kinds to better advantage. The statues include colossal figures of animals, principally of winged bulls and lions with human heads, which though coarse and clumsy are not without artistic merit, and are so vast as to impart an astounding idea of the buildings they were intended to adorn. The bas-reliefs are also of similar dimensions, and being various in character, give us a very considerable knowledge of the Ninevites, both artistically and historically, exhibiting, as they do, war scenes, religious scenes, processions, hunting scenes, and even scenes of ordinary life. Besides these, the slabs with inscriptions which have been rescued must add much further to our knowledge of the people as soon as the writings are fully deciphered, the progress made in which has already given us two Assyrian histories (of Assyria Proper and Babylonia respectively), from the pen of the late George Smith, which at present, however, are mere lists of kings with skeleton sketches of the wars they waged. Among other discoveries should also be noted the remarkable discovery of libraries of clay-tablets having existed in both Babylon and Nineveh, which contained various works on astrology and astronomy, including the work called the *Illumination of Bel*,—which has been preserved by the translation of Berosus, and comprises observations on comets, the pole-star, the conjunction of the Sun and Moon, and the motions of Venus and Mars,—and also

various mythological poems, grammars, and dictionaries. With these evidences of the intellectual greatness of the Assyrians come to us also the evidences of their luxury and licentiousness—of their dress, habits, and artificial wants—which testify at least that civilisation with them had very much outgrown its rudimentary stage. Metal-castings, decorated bowls, glass bottles, and castings in ivory have been found within the mounds of Nineveh; and also signets and talismans exhibiting good knowledge of gem-cutting. Robes and embroideries are painted on glazed tiles, or sculptured alabaster, which prove that muslins and carpets were manufactured. Nay, a crystal lens was discovered by Layard at Nimroud, which shows that the scientific use of glass, though not common, was understood. It matters not that these proofs come more plentifully from Nineveh than from Babylon, for the evidences yielded by one are evidences on behalf of both. There was no material difference in the taste and skill of the two cities, though one, as we see them now, represents the age of Nebuchadnezzar, and the other that of Sárdanapalus. The arts flourished in both, the sciences were equally cultivated; and there is no doubt that they had made very similar progress in politics and the art of government. The general modes of life, manners, and usages were identical; and, if the races were distinct towards the end of their history, their contiguity made them marvellous transcripts of each other even then. It is possible that the Ninevites were more warlike than the Babylonians; but it is hard to believe this on the evidence of their sculptures only. They were both fond of the chase; but so were the Ameers of Scinde in India, who were never much celebrated for their hardihood. The evidence of the ancient historians is that the sovereigns of Nineveh were for the most part exceedingly effeminate. The sculptures discovered give a different story, but they give us only the evidence of those very kings on their own behalf. The only unquestionable difference between Babylon and Nineveh was in this, that the former more successfully cultivated the arts of peace; which perhaps best

accounts for its longer life. Babylon had gradually made itself a commercial city, commanding the trade-route between India and the Mediterranean, and as such retained its importance so long as the route remained unchanged; while Nineveh, once reduced, was never able to reassert its greatness, there being no similar necessity for prolonging its existence.

CHAPTER III.

THE WONDERS OF EGYPT.

THE monuments of Egypt are perhaps more ancient, and certainly far more wonderful, than those of Babylon and Nineveh. Herodotus, who had travelled through many lands, has left on record the remark that "Egypt has more wonders than any other country, and exhibits works greater than can be described in comparison with all other regions." Of these works the grandest and most gigantic remains, apart from the pyramids, are those to be seen at Thebes, of the earliest history of which however nothing whatever is known to us. It has been calculated by an examination of the deposits of the Nile that Thebes was probably founded some three thousand years before Christ, that is, between six and seven hundred years before the deluge. If this really was so the city must have been older than the sister-cities of Assyria; but it would perhaps be more correct to assume that it was contemporaneous with them, or founded like them a short while after the deluge. All that has been recorded historically is that it was selected as the seat of empire by Busiris II., and that the most magnificent edifices in it were raised by the sovereigns named Osymandyas or Osertesen I., the Thothmeses I. and III., and Sesostris.

Homer calls Thebes "Hecatompylus," or having a hundred gates, which Diodorus explains is to be understood as implying a plurality of gates, and not a definite number. It is doubtful, however, if Thebes ever had any surrounding walls; there are no remains of any at present: and if there were no walls there could have been no gates, and the expression "hundred gates" would, in that case, simply imply

considerable size and power, the proofs of which are abundant. The circumference of the city is usually taken at from twenty-five to thirty miles. Its length, according to Diodorus, was sixteen and a half miles; but the more probable estimate of Strabo reduces it to eight miles only. All the buildings in it were of stone, and the remains yet seen attest that they were larger, more solid, more impressive, and in one sense more magnificent, than even the edifices of Greece and Rome. No people, ancient or modern, seem ever to have attempted the art of architecture on a sublimer and grander scale than the Egyptians were able to achieve.

Thebes stood on both sides of the Nile, as Babylon did on both sides of the Euphrates, but without being connected by a bridge or tunnel, which the breadth and impetuosity of the Nile did not permit. Some writers hold that the city proper occupied the eastern bank of the river, while its suburbs occupied the western bank; but that is mere assumption. The remains of the city are seen diffused along both banks of the river for about three leagues in length, and reach east and west to the mountains, which gives them a breadth of about two leagues and a half. This accords to the entire site a circumference of more than thirty miles; and the extent of the city in its most flourishing period could hardly have been less. The distant appearance of the ruins is not very imposing, as it presents a forest-like assemblage of temples, columns, obelisks, and colossi, which cannot be well appreciated except on nearer inspection. The impression on coming up to them is, it is said, that you enter a city of giants, deserted by them after a prolonged conflict either among themselves or with other giants, the ruins of their vast edifices remaining as the only proofs of their existence. The remains are divided into four distinct groups, represented by the modern villages named Uksor and Kárnak on the eastern bank of the river, and Gournou and Medinet-Háboo on its western bank; but they are not

wholly confined to them. In fact, some of the most magnificent ruins on the western side lie midway between the villages last named.

The only great Egyptian building of which a detailed account has been given by any of the ancients, is the palace of Osymandyas, the describer of which is Diodorus, who is generally held to be an untrustworthy authority. It is probable, however, that he saw the structure he was trying to describe, and, though the description cannot now be verified in every respect, the circumstances he mentions would not be impossible or improbable of any of the great temples yet to be seen, or of the tombs of the kings among the mountains. The monument Diodorus saw was thirteen stadia in circumference, and surrounded by walls 24 feet in thickness and 68 high; and the richness and workmanship of its ornaments corresponded with the size and majesty of the building. The entrance into it was by a vestibule of coloured stone 200 feet long and 68 high, and from this vestibule a square peristyle, or range of columns, was reached, each side of which was 400 feet in length. Animals 24 feet high, cut from blocks of granite, served as columns to support the ceiling, which was composed of marble slabs 27 feet square, and embellished by golden stars glittering on a ground of azure. Beyond the peristyle was another entrance, and after that a second vestibule built like the first. At the doorway here were three statues, the principal of which represented Osymandyas himself, the colossus bearing the oft-quoted inscription: "I am Osymandyas, king of kings! He who would comprehend my greatness and where I rest, let him surpass or destroy my works." After this portico was a peristyle more beautiful than the first, on the stones of which were engraved the wars of Osymandyas, and other paintings of great beauty. In the centre of the peristyle, where the roof was open, there was an altar erected of a single stone of marvellous bulk and exquisite workmanship. The peristyle led to an edifice 200 feet square, the roof of which was supported by high columns. Here several figures

carved in wood represented an assembly of judges, their president being seated with a pile of books at his feet, and the figure of Truth, with his eyes shut (to denote the impartiality of justice) suspended on his breast. On the summit of the monument was placed a circle of gold one cubit thick and 365 cubits in circumference, each cubit corresponding to a day of the year; and on it was engraved the rising and the setting of the stars of the day. Diodorus saw the monument standing, but stripped of its silver, gold, ivory, and precious stones. His description does not fit exactly any building now extant, but it is supposed to refer to the Memnonium of English travellers, which will be presently described.

The chief ruins to notice are the great temples dedicated to Ammon, or Jupiter, situated at Uksor, Kárnak, Gournou, and Medinet-Háboo respectively. All these buildings have been regarded by some writers rather as the remains of palaces than of temples, and there is no doubt that they partake of a double character, owing probably to the kingly and priestly offices having been united in Egypt, as they were in Assyria. The temple at Uksor is a long building, but not built after one single plan, being divided into three parts, which occupy three different sites. It is smaller than the chief building at Kárnak, but is in better preservation. It has a stately colonnade on the river-side, while the inland approach to it is by a gateway 200 feet in front and having at each side of it a granite statue buried up to the middle of the arms, the statues again having in their front two almost perfect obelisks of rose-coloured granite. That the portal is not on the river-side is accounted for by the temple itself being but an adjunct to the great temple at Kárnak, from which a long avenue of sphinxes terminates at its very entrance. The wings of the portal are covered with sculptures representing scenes of war. Of the three courts of the temple the first is surrounded by a double row of columns, the capitals of which are of the papyrus-bud form. The second court is not distinguishable at present for anything but a magnificent avenue of fourteen columns,

each of which is 11 feet in diameter and has a capital resembling the bell-shaped papyrus flower. Behind this is the third court, also much ruined, which has a double row of columns on each side, and at its end a portico supported by columns four deep.

The temple at Kárnak is of much larger dimensions than that at Uksor, and in fact consists rather of a collection of temples than of one temple only. The position of the group is inland, it being situated at a distance of about half a mile from the river. The approaches to it are twelve in number, the chief front being turned towards the Nile, with which it was connected by an alley of colossal crio-sphinxes, or figures having the heads of rams with the bodies of lions, at the termination of which there was a flight of steps leading down to the water's edge. The portal is 360 feet wide; but it was never sculptured, nor its surface smoothed. The court it leads to is 275 feet long and 329 broad, the peculiarity of lesser length than breadth* being very common in Egypt. On each side of the court is a gallery with a single row of columns, while a double colonnade forms an avenue from its entrance to that of the saloon or hypostyle hall beyond it, the most magnificent relic to be seen at Kárnak, and the grandest work of its class in Thebes. This hall is 170 feet long and 340 broad, and its roof, composed of unhewn blocks of stone, is supported by one hundred and thirty-four pillars, some of them 70 feet high and 12 in diameter, arranged in nine parallel rows, the greater columns forming an avenue through the midst of the building from the entrance, while the rest are arranged near together on each side. In common almost with every other hall in Egypt the edifice is lighted from the roof, by the central portion of the avenue being higher than its other parts and pierced with openings on both sides. The effect is surprisingly grand, and is enhanced by the masonry of the columns and the

* We understand *length* here to mean the distance from *end* to *end*, and *breadth* the distance from *side* to *side*.

walls being ornamented with sculptures, most of which commemorate the greatness and power of Sesostris. The back of the hall is formed by two propylæa, or porches, one after another, in the midst of which stood two magnificent obelisks of red granite, one of which is now in fragments. Beyond these obelisks is the chief sanctuary, made almost entirely of granite and divided into two apartments—apparently a comparatively new building standing in the place of one probably destroyed by some ruthless conqueror. After this comes the great temple, which was the chief seat of the worship of Ammon, the principal entrance to which is towards the south, so that it almost exactly faces the entrance to the temple of Uksor. It is reached by passing through two superb galleries, one of them known as the gallery of rams; while another avenue of rams, almost uninjured, stands in front of the building. The court of the temple has a double row of columns on each side, at the end of which are a hall supported by eight columns and many small chambers. The minor temples and other buildings at Kárnak are all more or less in ruins; but some of them bear traces of having been very beautiful in the past. The assemblage of ruins at the spot is altogether exceedingly imposing, and travellers affirm that no adequate description of it can be given in words. There is nothing like the collection, they say, in any part of the world.

At Gournou, on the western side, there is, first, a small temple remarkable for its great antiquity, which is stamped on its very appearance. A portico, originally supported by ten columns, extended along the whole length of this building, which contained two halls and several chambers, of which the ruins only are now seen. Neither sphinxes, nor obelisks, nor propylæa are here met with, and hence some writers consider the building to have been a private one, perhaps the residence of some grandee of the state. A more prominent object here is the building known as the Memnonium, situated on the edge of the Libyan desert, and believed to be the same with the tomb of Osymandyas.

A propylon 225 feet wide forms the front of this edifice, through the portal of which a spacious court is entered 142 feet in length and 180 in breadth. In the midst of this court was the largest figure ever raised by the Egyptians—the statue of Osymandyas, which was 60 feet in height, and is said to have weighed 887 tons. This colossus was made of one block of rose-coloured granite. It is said to have been broken into pieces by Cambyses, probably on account of the vaunting inscription Diodorus says it bore, inviting a comparison of the greatness of Osymandyas with that of others, who were defied to equal or destroy his works. The head, one foot, and one hand still remain, and the forefinger of the hand is nearly four feet in length. The throne of Osymandyas was in the second court, which is 140 feet long by 170 broad, and has a double colonnade at the front, all the columns having capitals of papyrus-bud form, except some which are square pillars with caryatides of Osiris in front of them. Next to this court is a hypostyle hall, which forms the most admirable part of the temple, and within which forty-eight columns were arranged in eight longitudinal rows, of which seven or eight are yet standing. The elegance of form and the adjustment of the proportions of these columns have been particularly praised, and they are held to be the most beautiful structures of their kind in Egypt. The walls of the entire building are covered with sculptures, which are mainly historical. There is another remarkable ruin here—a chamber with an astronomical ceiling, one of the most precious scientific records of very ancient times. This was perhaps the azure ceiling described by Diodorus as embellished by golden stars, though the description in other respects does not correspond."

At a distance of less than half a mile from the Memnonium was another temple, which has been completely destroyed, and in front of this was a field of colossi, almost all the figures in which have been thrown down. Two of these figures were seated, one being smaller than the other; and the larger of them was believed to be the speaking

statue of Memnon, which is said to have sent forth harmonious sounds once every morning on being first touched by the rays of the sun. The circumstance was not doubted by the ancients, many of whom had tested the truth of it personally. Among these the most sceptical was Strabo, who says that he did hear a sound on the spot at about six in the morning, but was uncertain whether it proceeded from the base or the colossus, or was produced by some person present. The cause of the sound has since been attempted to be accounted for. In the lap of the statue a stone was found, which on being struck emitted a metallic sound, not unlike the snapping of a harp or lute string. How it was worked is a mere matter of inference, it being supposed that it was accessible to the priests from within the hollow of the colossus. The colossus has now a very shattered appearance. It was thrown down by an earthquake, and has been much injured.

The group of buildings at Medinet-Háboo includes two temples and a palace; but the smaller of the two temples has nothing peculiar in it to notice, except that it is now almost wholly in ruins. The larger temple must have been at one time a very magnificent edifice. The first propylon leading to it is about 200 feet wide, and the court behind it is 110 feet long and 135 broad, and bears a colonnade on either side forming a gallery. The gallery on the right side consists of seven square pillars with the figures of deities carved in front of them, while that on the left side consists of eight columns having capitals of papyrus-flower form, which affords a remarkable, but not unpleasing example of architectural irregularity. A second propylon leads to a peristyle court which is the finest part of the temple. It measures about 123 feet in length and 133 in breadth, and has a single colonnade at the front and on either side, and a double colonnade at the end. The colonnade at the front and that facing it are formed of eight square pillars with caryatide figures of deities in front of them, while the other colonnades are formed of tall columns with capitals of papyrus-bud shape. The whole of

the temple is carved over with a mixture of historical and religious sculptures; and the impression made by the enormous masses of architecture and their embellishments is overpowering, and must have been more so to the Egyptians, who felt themselves in the presence of their gods. The palace adjoining the two temples is particularly remarkable as differing in its construction and purpose from every other ancient monument in Egypt. It is two-storied, and contains many saloons and apartments, and its position is such as to command a view, not only of all the monuments of Medinet-Háboo, but of those on the other side of the Nile. It is also distinguished by three towers, one on each side of its court and the third at the end of it; and the walls of the chambers are freely sculptured, the subjects represented differing from those to be seen in the temples in this that they are not wholly historical and religious, but are largely intermixed with scenes of domestic life.

A long winding valley, called the Babun-el-Moluk, commencing from behind the ancient temple at Gournou, leads up to the Libyan mountains, and at the extremity of it are the sepulchres of the ancient kings. They are cut in the freestone rock, and are composed of extensive galleries richly ornamented and having many lateral chambers. The sepulchres discovered are twenty or twenty-one in number, besides which there are four in the western valley. Their plans are very similar; but they differ greatly in extent. The paintings and sculptures in them are remarkable for the manner in which they illustrate the religion of Egypt, and also for the beauty of their execution. The most conspicuous of these receptacles has an astronomical ceiling, very like the one referred to among the ruins at Gournou. Belzoni also found here a sarcophagus of the purest alabaster, nine feet and nine inches long, and five feet and seven inches broad, which has been removed to the Soane Museum in London. It is only two inches thick, and therefore transparent when a light is held within it; and it is minutely sculptured, both without and within.

Besides the tombs of the kings there are those of the

queens at another end of the valley, these being similar to the others in design though neither so large nor so well-preserved. There are also the private tombs all along the mountain-chain where it approaches nearest to Gournou and Medinet-Háboo; and these are excavated in tiers one above another, the lowest being the tombs of the richer classes, and those higher up the tombs of the poorer classes. In all these receptacles are deposited the remains of the dead mummified according to Egyptian practice, those of the higher classes being buried in cases, while those of the lower classes are placed without any covering. Many of these tombs are decorated with pictures of domestic and social life, besides which alongside of the mummies have been found historical rolls of papyrus furnishing information of diverse kinds.

Briefly recapitulated, the ruins of Thebes commence and terminate with two race-courses, the smaller of which stood on the eastern and the larger on the western side. Starting from the former the first building northward is the temple or palace of Uksor, whence there is a long alley of sphinxes leading to Kárnak. There is next an alley of colossal rams, after which come the several temples of Kárnak and the great Hall of Columns, and then the northern entrance, which is the main entrance to Kárnak. Crossing over from this place to the western side are found first the ruins at Gournou, then an alley of sphinxes leading towards the tombs of the kings, then the sepulchre of Osymandyas, now known as the Memnonium, then the field of colossi, after which comes the chief temple at Medinet-Háboo, followed by a two-storied palace and a smaller temple called by some writers a pavilion, the ruins being finally bounded by the larger race-course, which was surrounded by an enclosure now represented by hills, among which the remains of thirty-nine gates can yet be distinguished. Apart from these there are the catacombs to the west of Gournou and immediately to the north of the alley of sphinxes leading therefrom, and the tombs of the kings and queens in the Libyan mountains. In neither the eastern

nor western division of the city are any traces of private houses to be seen. It is supposed that all the space between the ruins on the eastern side and the Arabian mountain-chain was occupied by them, but that being made of perishable materials, like the private houses in Nineveh and Babylon, all vestiges of them have disappeared.

The ruins of Thebes are probably the most ancient in the world, but those of Memphis look much older. Memphis has the reputation of having been originally built by Menes, while Thebes was founded by Busiris II., a later sovereign. But Memphis did not rise to greatness till after Thebes, that is, till the time of Uchoreus, its second founder, who, on the division of the country, made it the capital of Middle Egypt. In this position it was known in history as the great rival of Thebes, and as such contained several buildings of rare excellence. The first king, Menes, is said to have built the temple of Phtáh, or Vulcan, which, Herodotus says, was vast and well worthy of mention, and which was long regarded as the chief temple of the city. The other important edifices in it were the temples dedicated to Osiris and Serapis. The remains of these buildings are now very scanty, mainly because they were brick-built, and also because the position of the city near the Delta exposed it for ages to the violence of the several invaders of Egypt, and to its being used as a quarry. In the twelfth century the ruins were described as being "so wonderful as to confound the reflecting," and "such as the most eloquent could not describe." Their site, which was at one time disputed, has since been traced to the little village of Metráhenny, which lies at a short distance from the pyramids, concealed in a thicket of palm trees. Gibbon gives Memphis a circumference of one hundred and fifty furlongs, and in the twelfth century the ruins are said to have extended over half a day's journey in every direction. Even now they are spread over a fairly extensive area; but there is nothing remarkable in them at present, all that is seen being some heaps of rubbish interspersed with blocks of

granite and broken bits of columns, statues, and obelisks. The largest of the mounds encloses an oblong area of 800 yards from north to south, and 400 yards from east to west. All the ruins beyond it are fragments only.

Middle Egypt was also famous for its obelisks, pyramids, the labyrinth, and lake Mœris. Of these the last is said by Herodotus to have been the most wonderful and the most useful of Egyptian works. It was excavated to regulate the inundations of the Nile, a too great or too little rise of the waters being equally fatal to the land. The circumference of it was above three thousand and six hundred stadia, and it was 300 feet deep. Herodotus believed it to have been excavated by the hand of man, and gave a reason for his belief. He said that in the middle of the lake there were two pyramids 300 feet above and 300 below the water, that is, having the same foundation as the base of the lake, from which he inferred that they must have been erected before the cavity was filled up with water. If this lake be identical with the Birket-el-Kerown of present times, it may safely be assumed that it was a natural, not an artificial lake, though possibly considerably improved by the hand of man. There are no remains of the pyramids in it. If they really existed they probably stood on the island to be seen in the middle of the lake. We must mention, however, that according to the researches of M. Linant, a French engineer, lake Mœris was not a lake at all but a broad canal, the basin of which is traceable, he says, in the *Fayoum*. Be that as it may, it was not the lake that was so wonderful as the canal more than four leagues long and 50 feet broad, and provided with locks and sluices, by which water was brought to the lake from the Nile. The water in lake Mœris did not spring from the soil, for that was excessively dry. It was conveyed through the channel still known as the Báhr Youssouf, which runs parallel to the Nile, and for six months flowed into the lake, and for the other six out of it. The advantage derived from the arrangement was not imaginary; it

enabled the ancient Egyptians to irrigate three hundred and seventy thousand acres of land where sixty-five thousand acres only are now cultivated.

The labyrinth stood on the southern extremity of lake Mœris, a magnificent pile composed of twelve palaces communicating with each other. Fifteen hundred rooms, interspersed with terraces, were ranged round twelve halls, and discovered no outlet to those who entered them; and there was precisely the like number of halls and rooms underground. What the object of the building was has not been explained. The place was called the Tower of Crocodiles, and hence the inference that the building was mainly designed for the safe custody of those amphibious animals which were worshipped. Manetho makes out that it was the tomb of Mœris, or Amenemha III., while others are of opinion that it was a kind of council-house for the transaction of general business. Herodotus went through the upper rooms of the building, and says that they surpassed all human works, and presented a thousand occasions of wonder. The site of the building has been traced on the borders of the Birket-el-Kerown, where an indefinite plan of it could be made out up to 1843. What is seen there now is an area of about 600 feet strewed in all directions with columns, entablatures, and architraves.

An obelisk is a quadrangular tapering spire, raised perpendicularly; and those of Egypt were covered with inscriptions and hieroglyphics. They were to be found almost in every place of note in the country on the eastern side of the Nile, and were valuable relics for their colossal size, simplicity of form, and beauty of sculptured decorations. Their beauty was too great, however, for them to be left undisturbed on the sites they were intended to grace. Rome, despairing to equal Egyptian art, removed the best number of them from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tiber; and those which Rome was unable to remove are being taken away, one after another, by the English and the French.

The pyramids of Egypt, which are only to be seen on the

west side of the Nile, are counted among the wonders of the world for their size and solidity of structure, but have no sort of external ornament to distinguish them, and do not in any respect vie in magnificence with ruins like those at Kárnak or the Memnonium. Some authors claim a very high antiquity for them, while others dispute that claim as strongly, though Herodotus's account, which makes the greatest and best of them about nine hundred years older than the Christian era, may perhaps be held to be generally accurate. They are understood to represent the tombs of the kings of Middle and Lower Egypt, and apparently of other royal personages also, and form together a long clustering group extending along the desert behind Memphis over about one degree of latitude. The most important on the score of fame and antiquity are those at Gizeh, in the immediate neighbourhood of Memphis, and not far from Cairo, where there are three large pyramids and six smaller ones. The total number of pyramids throughout Egypt is nearly a hundred, excluding those which from their pettier dimensions are not counted with the rest. Most of these monuments are built of limestone, only four, including that which looks the tallest, being built of brick. The principle of their construction is thus explained: A rocky site being chosen for a pyramid a space was made smooth for it, leaving a slight eminence in the centre to form a peg upon which it was to be fixed. Within the rock, and usually below the level of the future base, a sepulchral chamber was excavated, with a passage inclining downwards leading to it usually from the north. Upon this rock was first raised a moderate mass of masonry of nearly a cubic form, but having its four sides inclined inwards. Upon this a similar mass was placed, and around it other such masses, generally about half as wide. This edifice could be enlarged or completed at any stage, at the wish of the designer, as the completion would only require a small pyramidal structure being set up at the top and the sides being filled in. It is presumed that when a king commenced his reign he levelled the surface of the rock for the pyramid he wished to raise

to his own memory, excavated the sepulchral chamber, and erected the first course of masonry which served as the nucleus of the building. A course of masonry was afterwards added every year to the height, and the length of the lower range simultaneously increased in the manner explained. When the king died the work of enlargement ceased, and the casing was put on the pyramid. Herodotus was therefore right when he stated that the pyramids were finished from the top downwards, though he was not believed or understood. The height of each pyramid thus represents the length of the reign of the sovereign whose name was commemorated by it.

The highest of the pyramids is that called the pyramid of Cheops at Gizeh, which is composed entirely of limestone, and the next to it is the pyramid of Cephren, which is built of brick. The latter looks taller than the other from having been built on higher ground, but is in reality slightly shorter, the present perpendicular height of one being 450 feet, and of the other 447, both being higher than St. Peter's at Rome. To the east of the second pyramid is a singular monument, the Great Sphinx, a man-headed lion nearly 189 feet in length, hewn out of the solid rock. The pyramid third in size is distinguished by a beautiful coating of red granite, which is peculiar to it, the other pyramids being reveted only with limestone. All the pyramids are four-sided, and in every case the sides face the four points of the compass with an exactitude that indicates an intimate acquaintance with the laws of the magnet. A very small portion of the edifices is occupied by chambers and passages, the rest being solid masonry throughout. Much of their outer covering has since been torn off, as well as the casing-stones, and they accordingly now present a series of steps on the outside, by which they can be ascended, though the ascent is necessarily fatiguing. The chambers within them are massive and gloomy: they were not intended for decoration, nor in fact to be opened out, and many of them are wholly plain; though there are others both sculptured and decorated. From several of

these have been extracted papyri, tablets, and paintings; linen cloths of all textures, some of them very beautiful in fabric; glass, glass-beads, enamelled porcelain idols, copper mirrors, leather and papyrus shoes, pottery, and vases of diverse kinds. The space around these monuments is occupied by almost countless tombs—the tombs of the people, some of which are built of stone, while others are excavated in the rocks.

The pyramids are so colossal that their building has always been held to be marvellous. It has been variously ascribed to the Jins or genii, the giants, and the Misraemites; but there is not much reason to doubt that the monuments were raised by the natives of the soil, whoever they were. One general impression is that they were raised by slaves, or a people that was enslaved. "We are told of those pyramids," says Voltaire; "but they are monuments of an enslaved people. The whole nation must have been set to work on them, or those unsightly masses could never have been raised." The supposition of the French cynic may be correct; but another view of the case, also hypothetical, is equally entitled to consideration. What if the pyramids were raised simply to find occupation for the poorer classes in times of distress? They were not built all at once; each structure rose step by step, and was made by artificers employed year by year, possibly during periods of inundations, which in Egypt were constant, and when the people would necessarily find no agricultural employments to occupy them. Why not regard them then as absolutely nothing but relief-works on a monster scale, a scale commensurate to the greatness of the people? Among the inscriptions of Osertesen I. occurs the following proud vaunt: "There was no famine in my days; no hunger under my government." Is it too much to assume that this immunity from distress was secured by his finding suitable work for his people?

The vestiges in Lower Egypt are inconsiderable. The two most ancient cities in it were Sais and Heliopolis, the first a royal residence, the second the chief seat of Egyptian

learning. Of the former the only remains now consist of some lofty mounds and fragments of massive walls made of crude brick. There was a great temple in it dedicated to the worship of Neith, or Athenæ, but not even the ruins of it can now be traced. Similarly, Heliopolis was famous for its temple of Rá, or the Sun, which had an avenue of sphinxes, and was adorned by several obelisks; but no ruins are now to be seen in it beyond a solitary obelisk and crude brick ridges, the remnants of a broken wall. The temple of Rá was the most celebrated *Tole* of the Egyptian priests, and at the time of Strabo the apartments were still shown where Plato and Eudoxus had acquired their knowledge of Egyptian philosophy.

The genius of the Egyptians for architecture is undisputed, for the wondrous assemblage of ruins yet extant at Thebes renders it impossible to dispute it. Even in Egypt the first buildings were made of unbaked brick, the employment of stone being an after-thought that arose when the art of working on the harder materials was acquired. This is established by an examination of the ruins of Memphis, Sais, and Heliopolis, which are mainly represented by mounds of brick and rubbish. The site of Thebes was selected apparently after the art of hewing stones was learnt, and fixed at a point where the ranges of calcareous hills approached each other. The trade of inner Africa was carried by caravan routes passing across the desert, and the particular site of Thebes was well suited for the rendezvous of the caravans engaged in drawing out the produce of the interior and in supplying it with whatever it wanted. The mountains near the place, particularly about Syene, form a connecting link between chalk and granite, and are of all colours—gray, yellow, and white, with veins of rose and bright pink—and they furnished the best possible materials for raising the first city of stone. In Upper Egypt there is no wood fit for building, or even for burning, and building with stone was therefore a necessity. It is supposed that the erection of Thebes was undertaken immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, though of

course the buildings were not—as both their extent and their plans attest—raised or completed at one time. Long periods, centuries often, must have elapsed between the commencement and completion of many of them. Sesostris has the credit of having raised the largest number; but we know that several of his predecessors, and among others Aahmes and the Thothmeses I. and III., distinguished themselves similarly almost to an equal extent. The reign of Sesostris was the Augustan age of Egypt, when, while her arms were carried farthest in every direction, the arts attained a degree of perfection which was not afterwards surpassed. To it, therefore, everything great and lasting has been freely assigned; but the actual completion of Thebes must have occupied the attention of a dozen great sovereigns at least, both before and after the era of Sesostris.

Our description of the ruins of Thebes is necessarily brief, and conveys but a faint picture of their actual greatness; they are really so great that nothing like them is to be seen in any other part of the world. The Egyptians had no models to imitate, but have left models behind them which have nowhere been equalled. They sought the production of an astounding ideal, and did not fail in producing it. Without referring to the pyramids, the immensity of their designs will be understood from the fact that the Hall of Columns at Kárnak is so stupendous that the largest church in England, St. Paul's excepted, would stand within it with ease if some Arabian Nights' genii were to transport it thither bodily. All the buildings, moreover, are as solid as they are extensive. There is neither brick nor wood to be seen in the ruins, everything being of stone. Consider, then, the quantity of stone that had to be amassed to construct them! The largest colossus, we have said, was 887 tons in weight. We cannot easily suggest the means adopted for its transport from Syene to Thebes, a distance of one hundred and thirty-eight miles, and there were monoliths still heavier than the colossus, all made of single blocks of stone. All

these must have been floated down the Nile; and it is not possible, with such facts before us, to deny to the Egyptians the possession of the highest mechanical skill. The evidences of the possession of scientific skill are equally conclusive. In the pavilion at Medinet-Háboo some of the chambers were arched with stone, as is shown by the devices on the upper part of their walls which represent the form of the building. Traces of arches are also seen in the tombs, and, putting this and that together, it has been very precisely demonstrated that the construction of arches was understood in Egypt previous to B.C. 1500, as it was understood in Babylon from about B.C. 1300, and in Nineveh from about B.C. 900. The Egyptians possessed also a knowledge of geometry and astronomy, and this is proved by the geometrical form of the pyramids, and the astronomical uses which, it has been discovered, they were made to answer in their day, as well as by the forms of the temples and palaces which exhibit a wide and diversified use of circles, squares, and triangles. We have said besides that Plato came to the temple of Rá to learn Egyptian philosophy, and read that Moses acquired his wisdom in Egypt, and Thales had no masters for the scienees but the Egyptian priests; and no proofs beyond these can be required to vindicate the reputation for extensive knowledge which the nation had secured.

The sculptures in Thebes are so many and so various that they can here be referred to in very general terms only. They are distinct in character, form, and analogy from those found in Nineveh, but like them afford unquestionable proofs of the progress made by the people, both mentally and socially. They tell explicitly what arts and inventions were known to them, and to what extent they were known. Homer refers to the opulence of the Egyptians, to their possession of gold, silver, ivory, and precious stones; the sculptures show how these were worked and to what uses they were applied. The manufacture of linen and cotton is also proved by them and from the mummy-clothes extracted from the tombs. The Egyptians had papyrus and

parchment to write upon, and the sculptures show that even the poorer classes wrote, using wooden slabs for that purpose. The use of glass was known to them, and the blowpipe figures among the representations which have come down to us. But what the sculptures are most valuable for is the amount of historical information they afford in regard to the names, wars, and great deeds of the sovereigns of the country, who never failed to inscribe on their walls whatever they desired should be remembered.

The great works of Egypt were erected during the first period of her history, which terminated in B.C. 525, with the conquest of Cambyses. It is useless now to speculate what events lost to history were connected with their construction. The first idea presented by them is that Thebes and Memphis were, in their day, the capitals of an empire perhaps as powerful as Greece and Rome ever became; and the next is akin to it, namely, that their social and commercial connection with other countries must have been very considerable to produce the opulence and interchange of ideas clearly readable on the stones. Of the vicissitudes undergone by them some records exist. They were successively devastated by the Arabs, Ethiopians, and Assyrians, the last of whom the later Egyptians seem to have resembled most, both in their effeminacy and in their admiration for the chase, which, we have observed already, has been wrongly regarded as a proof of national hardihood. From the attacks of these enemies the Egyptians were able to rally, but not from the outrage inflicted on them by the Persians, a nation of real warriors, at least at that age. Cambyses triumphed over an inanimate people, and read a fitting lesson to their want of spirit. He not only pillaged the temples and carried off their gold, silver, and ivory ornaments, but actually broke down as much as he could of what he was unable to remove, not sparing even the colossi, of which the biggest was reduced into fragments. In more recent times the quarrels of the Ptolemys completed the destruction the Persians had left unfinished, and thus were the labours of the giants finally overthrown.

CHAPTER IV.

THE *TAKHT-I-JEMSHEED* AND OTHER ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF PERSIA.

PERSIA succeeded to the greatness of Assyria and Egypt, and the most remarkable remains of her magnificence are to be seen at Persepolis. This city has the reputation of having been founded by Jemsheed, and is best known in the East by the name of *Takht-i-Jemsheed*, or the throne of Jemsheed. The native account given of it is that Jemsheed, having removed the seat of government from Seistán to Fárs, took a spot of ground near the confluence of the Medus and the Araxes, on the spacious plain now called Merdusht, and built on it such a city, or citadel, that nothing like it was to be seen in any of the seven kingdoms of the world. This was called Istákár; the name of *Chehel Minár*, or the palace of Forty Pillars, being afterwards given to it by the Arabs. The word "Chehel" means "forty," but expresses to the Arabs and Turks an indefinite rather than a definite number, being accepted by them in the same sense as the English word "many." The actual number of pillars appertaining to the palace was nearly double what its name implies.

The manner in which Persepolis came to be constructed is thus explained: On the day when the sun quitting the sign Pisces in the heavens entered the sign Aries, Jemsheed invited all his subjects—including not only his princes, nobles, and other great men, but also his husbandmen, artificers, and labourers—to a grand and solemn festival, which he called the No-Roze, or New-Year's Day, and requested all present to erect a residence for him worthy the greatness of the nation he ruled over. This was joyfully agreed to, and from that day the whole nation

laboured on the work with willing hands, and, being assisted by the Dives whom Jemsheed had conquered, produced the marvel of which the remains are so admired.

Jemsheed was contemporaneous with Semiramis, so that the above account would make Persepolis of nearly the same age with Babylon and Nineveh. It is doubtful, however, if it was really so ancient, though several writers favour the idea by asserting that it existed as one of the chief cities of Persia from the most ancient times. Diodorus says that Persepolis was built by Cambyses, by whom workmen and architects were brought for the purpose from Egypt; and there is reason to believe that the best edifices in it were erected by Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes, and some of them by Homai, the daughter and mistress of Ártaxerxes I. The most significant mounds in Assyria are connected with the name of Nimrod, as Birs Nimroud in Babylon and Nimroud in Nineveh. The connection of Persepolis with the name of Jemsheed is, we suppose, to be accounted for on the same principle. He was the founder of the Persian empire, as Nimrod was of the Assyrian empire, and the credit of having raised the noblest citadel within his dominions was therefore naturally assigned to him.

The best of the old accounts of Persepolis is that given by Diodorus, who describes it as a castellated palace surrounded with treble walls, the first of them being sixteen cubits high and adorned with many sumptuous buildings and aspiring turrets, the second like the first but three times as high, and the third drawn like a quadrant sixty cubits high and built of the hardest marble. There were four brazen gates on each side of the enclosure, and to the east of it, at a distance of about 400 feet, there stood a mountain containing the sepulchres of its kings. Like other similar accounts furnished by Diodorus, this description cannot be exactly verified by the remains of the city as now seen; but the general details given may nevertheless have been approximately accurate at some remote era, and to some extent can yet be followed.

The remains of Persepolis stand in the neighbourhood of

Shiráz, on what was at one time one of the finest plains in Persia, but which has now become a swampy wilderness. They occupy an eminence, or platform, at the side of a rugged mountain, rising in the shape of a series of terraces facing the four cardinal points. Three faces of the platform are towards the plain, while the fourth or east face is towards the mountain at the base of which it stands. The whole has the appearance of an amphitheatre with its front to the west, the extreme length of it being 1500 feet, and its extreme breadth somewhat above 900. The platform is made throughout of blocks of hard granite bordered with dark-gray marble, all fitted without mortar, with such precision that the entire elevation must have originally looked as part of the solid mountain. Its shape at present is very irregular, from the fallen ruins and accumulated soil around it; and its height, for the same reason, is not more than half its original elevation from the plain. The only ascent to it is by a gigantic stair-case on the western side, the steps of which are fifty-five in number and three and a half inches high. The first flight of the stair-case leads to an irregular landing-place, where a second flight commences, terminating on the ground-level of the platform. On reaching this the lofty front of an immense portal is seen, the inner sides of which are sculptured into the forms of two colossal bulls, the heads of which have been knocked off. To the east of this portal are the remains of four splendid columns, of which two are yet almost entire; and beyond them is a second portal nearly resembling the first, and having its inner sides adorned with sculptured bulls having enormous wings and the faces of men. The two portals and the four columns form together the entrance to the magnificent terrace to their south on which the Hall of Forty Pillars stands, the ascent to it being by a double stair-case which is elaborately sculptured, as in fact all the stair-cases in Persepolis, excepting the great stair-case, are. The rise is extremely gradual, each stair-case consisting of thirty low steps, which are in no case more than four inches high. The terrace is 350 feet from north to south,

and 380 from east to west, and the principal edifice on it is the Minár, of which it has been said that no cathedral in Northern Europe is either larger than it in dimensions or greater in height. The columns of the Minár were arranged in four groups, the central group counting thirty-six, and the rows on each side and in the front twelve each, which gives a total number of seventy-two columns, of which thirteen only are yet standing. Whether the edifice had any surrounding walls or roofing has been questioned. It is supposed by some writers to have been a summer throne-room only, open to the winds of heaven and covered at the top with curtains and awnings. There are those again who add that the pillars had idols at their top; but this seems unlikely, since the Persians of the time of Darius and Xerxes were not idolaters, besides which recent researches have discovered marks of roofing on the pillars themselves. The form of the pillars is throughout the same, and extremely beautiful. The height of the central columns is fifty-five feet, but sixty of the rest; and the capitals of the two varieties are also somewhat dissimilar in design. The shafts of the columns are uniformly sixteen feet in circumference, and they are all of them most delicately carved and ornamented.

The only other building on the same terrace with the Minár is a spacious and splendid apartment 227 feet square, lying between the colonnade and the mountain to the east, which, for want of a better name, has been called the Hall of Audience. It is entered by two door-ways on each side, and by a grand portal on the north thirteen feet wide, above which is represented the figure of a king seated on a throne, with a footstool of gold at his feet and a canopy over his head, apparently giving audience to an ambassador. Close behind the king are his attendants and guards, while immediately before him stands in a respectful attitude the ambassador to whom audience is given. The interior of the apartment had, it is believed, pillars distributed and arranged in rows; but the proof of this is very incomplete, as the bases of eight pillars only can be traced.

The apartment was lighted by a range of lofty windows, and was richly adorned with sculptures and other decorations. There are also remains of large and highly finished niches in it, such as are to be seen in the present palaces of Persia.

The remaining buildings at Persepolis lie to the south of the colonnade, and are only three or four in number. They occupy different terraces rising out of the primary platform, but are for the most part in such fragmentary and disjointed condition that even their general design can scarcely be made out. The nearest of the edifices stands on the west edge of the platform immediately to the south of the Minár, covering a space 170 feet long by 95 broad. It is approached by a double flight of stairs now completely in ruins, but which seems to have been elaborately decorated. The building itself was one-storied, and on a very modest, simple, and regular plan. It has been named by some writers the Palace of Darius, by others the Queen's Palace, and is supposed to have consisted of twelve or thirteen apartments, the remains of some of which are to be seen. The site to the east of it is choked up with rubbish, under which no traces of the original structures they represent can be discovered. At the extreme south of the platform are the remains of the two largest buildings of the citadel, of which one bears the name of Xerxes, and the other that of Ochus, or Ártaxerxes III. The palace of Ochus is in too ruinous a condition to be described, and is perhaps identical with the building which was destroyed by Alexander the Great. The palace of Xerxes is very like that of Darius, but on a much larger scale. The two buildings seem to have resembled also in their decorations, with this characteristic difference, that the palace of Darius exhibits stirring scenes of combats with lions and monsters, while that of Xerxes is marked all over with figures of attendants carrying articles of the toilet and the table, and other similar representations of sensual enjoyment. The stone used in building these edifices was chiefly of the hard blue kind; but the door-ways and window-frames were of black marble,

so beautifully polished that they reflect objects even to this day to a considerable extent. The other fragments of the buildings are of equally fine workmanship; and in the days of their glory the walls, pillars, and door-ways must have thrown back their rich variegated lights on each other and realized the dreams of the poets of their country to their fullest extent.

The architecture of the Persians displayed itself in two forms of buildings only, namely, palaces or palace-halls and tombs. The worship of the nation was in the open air, and they do not appear to have erected any temples, or, if they did, the buildings must have been very insignificant, such as to have left no traces behind them. The tombs at Persepolis are those referred to by Diodorus, namely, excavations cut out of the solid rock—the Koh-i-Rahmut, or Hill of Mercy—which bounds the citadel on the east. The excavations are in a niche 72 feet in breadth and 130 high, divided into two compartments and covered with sculptures. One of the compartments is believed to be the sepulchre of Darius Hystaspes, though another tomb at Nakŝh-i-Roostum is also claimed for him. Of the sculptures the principal design is that of a king—perhaps of Darius himself—worshipping Fire and the Sun, the former represented as a flame, and the latter by a ball hovering over it.

Persepolis has a character peculiar to itself. Its site is solitary and not well fitted to form the capital of a great empire; nor did it ever command any of the ancient trade-routes of the world. If it was neither the seat of government nor an emporium of commerce, what was the city built for? The question is answered in the traditional account we have given of its construction by Jemsheed. He wanted a royal residence to be erected for him, and this was the character the nook seems always to have borne. It was the favourite place of retirement of the Persian sovereigns—of Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes—and therefore the most important station in an empire founded on despotism. Of the city for the mob, that is, the habita-

tions of the people, no distinct vestiges are to be seen, but it may be presumed that it extended over the vast plain to the west of the citadel, on which some rubbish-heaps can be traced. As we have observed in Assyria and Egypt, the private houses must have been made of very perishable materials, which having fallen to the ground have, for the most part, mixed up with it.

Like the Babylonians and the Ninevites, the Persians built all their great edifices on large mounds or platforms, which made the buildings more conspicuous, dignified, and easy to protect. This was particularly the case at Persepolis. The platforms however were not of an uniform height; the terraces over the first elevated base were, we have seen, distinct, and exhibited great differences in altitude, and this necessarily involved the construction of artificial ascents, which accounts for the remarkable stair-cases we have noticed. As the main edifices were not continuous, but separate, this also necessitated the construction of different porches for them, and we accordingly find that there were four propylæa on different parts of the platform, the biggest being that which gave admittance to the Minár and formed the centre of the landing-place after ascending the first or great stair-case. The total number of edifices in the citadel was probably ten, but of these the skeletons of five or six only can now be traced.

Persepolis was destroyed by Alexander the Great, to avenge, it is said, the ill-treatment received there by some Greek prisoners of war. Some assert that the city was burnt down, and that the idea to reduce it in that manner originated with Thais, an Athenian courtezan, who remembered how Athens was destroyed by Xerxes. She has the reputation of having set fire to the buildings with her own hands; but on the ruins no marks of fire can be traced. It is not improbable however that such portions of the city as were made of perishable materials were reduced by fire, while the massive buildings of stone were broken down, and that, time having removed all vestiges of the former, we now see those of the latter only. Alex-

ander's violence was perpetrated under the influence of wine, and his soldiers took advantage of it to massacre the inhabitants and plunder the city. What the Macedonians left undone was afterwards completed by the Saracens, who mutilated the figures by which the place was decorated.

In connection with the ruins of Persepolis may be noticed those at Naksh-i-Roostum and the valley of Mourghâb, the former five miles and the latter forty-nine miles to the north-east of Persepolis. Beyond these again, are the curious sculptures of Bisitun, on the confines of Media, with other remains of inferior consequence intermediately scattered which it cannot be necessary more particularly to point out.

The sepulchres at Naksh-i-Roostum are hewn in the solid rock, and the mountain scenery around them is said to be very wild. This was the place where most of the Persian kings appear to have been buried, and among the notable tombs one is claimed as that of Darius Hystaspes. The remains of a square castle with towers all round are also seen, its ditch being particularly traceable; and in the centre are vestiges of portals made of very large stones, one column of which is standing, while the remnants of others lie scattered around.

Of the ruins at Mourghâb the chief is the tomb of Cyrus, called by the natives the tomb of Bebee Hanánáh, the mother of Solomon, which is described as a very interesting relic, being a perfect sarcophagus placed on a pyramid of seven white marble steps of different heights. This is the only built-tomb over royalty in Persia, all the other imperial sepulchres being rock-tombs, or excavations in the sides of mountains, and generally at considerable elevations. The top of Cyrus's tomb is arched and rests on a cornice, and the body of it is made throughout of enormous blocks of stone cramped together. Its inside is small, and has been made dirty by the smoke of lamps, while the pavement has been worn away as if by water. The closeness of the tomb was referred to in the inscription which it is said to have borne: "Oh man! I am Cyrus, who gave the

empire to the Persians, and was Lord of all Asia! Grudge me not this narrow sepulchre." The only inscription yet seen is on a monolithic pillar standing near the tomb, and is to the following effect: "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenan." The tomb was formerly surrounded by a square colonnade of twenty-four pillars, but this has disappeared.

Another remarkable edifice at Mourghâb is the *Takht-i-Suliemán*, or throne of Solomon, a huge platform 300 feet in length and 298 in breadth, made of blocks of marble joined together; and near to it, on the plain, are detached pillars, one of which, resembling the columns at Persepolis, stands entire. There are also on the plain three pilasters, or immense pieces of stone hollowed out, two of which are marked with inscriptions, while the third, which is lower and unconnected with the rest, is surmounted by a mythological figure with six wings, having on its head a pair of ram's horns. This place is supposed to be the ancient Pasargadá, which, Strabo says, was founded by Cyrus; and the great multitude of ruins on the spot testifies that it was probably at one time the site of a mighty city.

The rock-monuments of Bisitun are very curious and peculiar, and mainly noticeable on that account. The mountain rises to the height of 1,700 feet, and has at its base a platform hewn out of the cliff. A gigantic figure is carved in relief on the wall of the rock, and this is accompanied by other figures and inscriptions all over the height. One interesting piece of sculpture represents a king trampling over the prostrate body of one of his captives, while others, nine in number, are seen approaching him with cords round their necks and in a suppliant posture. The sculpture is rude, but is believed to be very ancient. It is supposed to have reference to the earliest period of the Persian empire, perhaps to the reign of Cyrus and the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel; but the inscriptions speak mainly of Darius.

Apart from Persepolis, the chief cities of Persia were Susá, Ecbátaná, and Babylon, the last of which has been

already noticed. Susá was the ancient capital of Persia, and is named Shushán in the Bible, and as the chief city of Memnon by Herodotus. It derived its name from lilies, which grew in great abundance in its neighbourhood; but the site is not very precisely known at present, and has been much disputed, some holding that Susá and Shus are the same, others that Susá is identical with Shuster. Strabo says that the Persian capital was built entirely of brick, which description accords better with Shus than Shuster, there being large quarries of stone near the latter place, which seem to have been freely used in its construction. The position of Susá was selected on account of its vicinity to Babylon, and occupied an area of fifteen miles in circumference. It was surrounded by a brick wall, and contained palaces, courts, and parks, like Babylon and Nineveh. The foundation of the city has been differently ascribed to Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes; it commenced to be the seat of government apparently from the reign of the latter. It was existing in the days of Alexander the Great, who plundered vast sums of money from it. A common tradition says that the prophet Daniel died in it, and to this day a comparatively modern building is pointed out at Shus as the spot where the remains of the prophet lie buried.

The ruins of Shus are situated in the modern province of Kuzistán, and extend between the river Keráh and Abyráh. They consist generally of hillocks of earth and rubbish, covered with broken pieces of bricks and coloured tiles. There are two mounds larger than the rest, the first a mile in circumference and 100 feet in height, the other less in elevation but double in area. The mounds in general bear a considerable resemblance to those of Babylon, and are equally gloomy and desolate, and infested by lions, hyænas, and other wild beasts. Some excavations having been made in them the remains of two palaces have been discovered, both standing on platforms made of sun-dried bricks. One of these has a magnificent throne-room or colonnade similar in shape and structure to that at Perse-

polis, the columns having inscriptions in three languages on them, stating that they were raised by Darius Hystaspes, and repaired or restored by Artaxerxes III., by whom the inscriptions were engraved. Shuster is the capital of Kuzistán, and its ruins prove it to have been at one time a magnificent city. There are distinct remains in it of a castle, a dyke, and a drawbridge. The castle was defended on two sides by the dyke, which has almost choked up with sand, and on the other two by a branch of the Károon. It had one gateway, which was entered by the drawbridge. The dyke was constructed of cut stone bound together by iron clamps, and was 400 yards long. It was in this city that the Emperor Valerian was kept captive, on whose neck Sháhpoor, it is said, placed his foot every morning when mounting his horse. The story is apocryphal, but has been alluded to by Gibbon.

Ecbátaná was the capital of Media, and is said to have been founded by Dejoces, who became king of that country a short while after its disruption from the Assyrian empire; but Diodorus asserts that the first buildings in the city were constructed by Semiramis. The city was built of hewn stones, and was surrounded by a high and thick wall, or, as others assert, by a set of seven walls, one within another, and so constructed that each inner circle overtopped its outer neighbour only by the height of its battlements. These walls are described by Herodotus as having been of different colours, the first being white, the second black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange, and the sixth and seventh plated respectively with silver and gold. Polybius speaks of the palace in the city in a similar strain. It was situated, he says, below a citadel, and had a circumference of seven stadia. The woodwork throughout was of cedar and cypress, overlaid with plates of gold and silver; the columns of the halls and courts were as lavishly decorated; and all the tiles were of silver. Stories of this nature may be rejected as extravagantly exaggerated; but, as the city was for a long time

the summer residence of the Persian and Median kings, it is not improbable that it was exceptionally grand and sumptuous. Originally, it was a fortress only; but it became in time one of the first cities of Asia, scarcely inferior in wealth and splendour to Susá and Babylon, and this expansion it owed apparently to its neighbourhood to the high-road of Asia from east to west. It was plundered successively by Alexander, Antiochus, and Seleucus Nicator; and the second is said to have found as much silver in it as enabled him to coin four thousand talents. For all its greatness, however, the site of the city is now hardly better known than that of Susá, one opinion being that it occupied the position afterwards taken up by Persepolis, another that it was the same with the Achmethá of Ezra. The latter view is generally accepted, both Achmethá and Ecbátaná being identified with the modern town of Hamádán, which stands at the base of the Orontes or Elmund mountains, and contains many houses, gardens, and a large number of *kháns* and *seráis* of a superior description. The only positive evidence of the olden city on the site consists of some remnants of ruined walls of great thickness, and of some broken towers made of sun-dried bricks: and even these are believed to be not older than the Parthian era, so that virtually the Ecbátaná of Dejoces has long ceased to exist.

After the first days of Assyrian and Egyptian greatness the Persians figure in history as the ruling nation of the world. They owed their origin to revolutions, and from a rude state attained suddenly the position of conquerors, which enabled them to master or appropriate the advances made by the nations they conquered. Their country thus became in a short time and all at once the seat of power, wealth, and learning, at a time when the nations of Europe were yet immersed in barbarism, with the exception of the Greeks, who had a simultaneous, though at this time not an equal development. The first era of Persian greatness was probably represented by the foundation of Susá, which

was a close imitation of Babylon, the Persians adopting not only the model of the Assyrian capital, but also the materials of which it was made. Susá, like Babylon, thus arose a pile of bricks, but could not long withstand the reckless onslaughts directed against it by the barbarous hordes from Tartary and Arabia, and we have hardly any traces of it at present. Persepolis rose in stone to replace Susá, and was in some respects (in respect to its pillared-hall, for instance) an imitation of Thebes, with which it had one common advantage, namely, the proximity of the harder materials required for its construction. We have taken it for granted that Persepolis was mainly built by Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes, and it necessarily follows that its ruins represent the degree of perfection in art attained by the Persians in their age. We shall not say that when Persepolis was erected the Persians had reached a higher degree of civilisation than had been acquired by the Babylonians and the Egyptians, for this probably was not so. But the incongruous elements of which the empire was composed had then already been harmonized, and the Persians had settled down to a state of prosperity as great as that which the Assyrians and the Egyptians had secured before them. Persepolis was not as ancient as Thebes or Babylon; it came into being many centuries later: but it was the production of a people as much in their infancy as the Assyrians and Egyptians were in when Babylon and Thebes were raised, and exhibits with them nearly the same stage of civilisation and general knowledge, with such improvement as their imitation was able to impart. The temples of Kárnak are imitations of excavated rocks, the gigantic efforts of a great people to rival the beauties of nature from having no other models to follow. The ruins of Persepolis betray an advance in architecture by the fusion they exhibit of the beauties of nature and art.

Persepolis rose because Thebes and Babylon had existed. The Creator had appointed the Egyptians and the Assyrians to serve as models to other nations, and the barbarians who

approached them, whether from Greece or Persia, could not fail to imitate them. Susá was built after Babylon, and Persepolis after Babylon and Thebes: but neither the art of Assyria nor that of Egypt was servilely copied. From the Egyptians the Persians borrowed the idea of building in stone; the style of architecture was borrowed more largely from the Assyrians, but developed with greater taste. The architecture of Egypt and India is close and superincumbent, but that of Persepolis is open and high-reaching; there is more originality in the remains which have been discovered at Nineveh, but the edifices of Persepolis exhibit more regularity of form, harmony, and proportion. The Persians had less antiquity and less of new ideas than the nations they copied from; but they improved the ideas they copied by fusing different models into each other, till they attained a style almost Grecian in character, though differing widely from the Grecian style. It is extremely doubtful if they ever thought of one uniform design. The buildings of Persepolis at least exhibit phases very different from each other, rising as if by enchantment by a skilful combination of differing plans. There is one leading idea in them all, namely, the exhibition of the greatness of the sovereign or the government; but it is worked out in diverse ways, according to the inspiration of the architect or the model he wished to imitate.

Egypt excepted, there is no such masonry work anywhere as at Persepolis, and a comparison shows to advantage those particular edifices, or portions of edifices, which have been built after, or otherwise resemble the edifices of Nineveh. Persepolis, in fact, supplies what is found wanting in Nineveh—the complement of the style which was left unfinished by the Assyrians. We see no stair-cases and pillars at Nineveh. Persepolis shows what they would have been if they had existed. The sculptures of both Assyria and Egypt have been imitated and reproduced, but reproduced with a profusion and nicety not known to the Egyptians and the Ninevites. The bas-reliefs are also

imitations, but exhibit considerable improvements in proportion and finish as compared with the models which have been followed.

Like the Assyrians and the Egyptians, the Persians also were noted for their field sports, and had spacious preserves where their game was enclosed; and a great many of the sculptured representations yet seen are of combats with bulls and lions. Mythological scenes and processions too are met with; but the remains show little of statuary, the nearest approach to statues being the colossal bulls at the portals, which are not sculptured in the round. This, of course, tells adversely against Persian art; but we note another difference which speaks in its favour at least to an equal degree. Of Egypt and Assyria the representations do not go beyond battles, hunting scenes, and processions; but the Persian engravings include exhibitions of a happy reign and a brilliant court—lying accounts doubtless, as they all are more or less, but still affording some historical information of a character not met with elsewhere. What is to be regretted in the Persian representations is an exuberant display of luxury, which has no counterpart in any other place. If the Persians were more polished than the Egyptians and the Assyrians they were also far more frivolous and voluptuous. In their case, moreover, the greater luxury exhibited cannot be accepted as a proof of greater civilisation, since there was no proportionate advance among them in other respects. Persia had no name for science in any age, nor was she ever much celebrated for her knowledge of the industrial arts. Her empire was based on the sword, and commanded the products of other nations which she freely appropriated; and, luxuriating on them, she became enervated without contributing much to the cause of progress herself, except in the way of imitation and improvement. This mainly accounts for the short life of her greatness. It commenced with Cyrus, in B.C. 558, and was, virtually, terminated by B.C. 450, or the defeat of Xerxes in Greece. Persia was finally destroyed by Alexander, who wanted to unite the whole world into one

mighty empire. He did not live long enough to give effect to the idea, and among his successors there was none fit to mature it. Asia, instead of being united with Europe, was split up by his conquest and the events by which it was followed, while in Europe the power of the Romans began to expand and become paramount. The revivals of the Persian power belong to modern history, with which we have no present concern.

CHAPTER V.

PETRÁ, AND THE ANCIENT CITIES OF SYRIA.

THE name "Syria" has been used in such a loose and indefinite manner that we sometimes find it applied to all the country from the Mediterranean Sea to Armenia and Media, and at other times to the tract lying between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean—occasionally including Phœnicia and Palestine, oftener excluding them both or the former only. We accept the latter definition of it here, excluding Phœnicia but including Palestine within its limits, and observe in passing that this territory does not appear ever to have been organized into one state, having been at all times divided into a number of separate cities with a little territory around each. These cities owed all their importance, perhaps their very origin, to their situation on the direct road which led from Petrá, the principal emporium of Arabian commerce, to the banks of the Euphrates, and *vice versâ*, from the banks of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean; and the principal of them were Jerusalem, Damascus, Baálbeck, and Palmyrá, of which the first two are living to this day, though in a decayed state. The other two places have long been in ruins, owing to the caravan-route through Syria having changed its course; and they were almost lost sight of till the latter part of the seventeenth century, when curiosity in regard to them was excited by the description given of their remains by the Arabs of the desert. The inquiries thus set on foot have resulted in the exploration of their ruins, which we shall proceed to notice, commencing with our starting point at Petrá, the monuments of which are hardly less marvellous than those of Baálbeck and Palmyrá, at the same time that they are believed to be much more ancient.

Petrá, or Carrak, as it is now called—it is also called Wady Mousá, or the valley of Moses—was the ancient capital of Arabia Petræá, and lies almost in a line between the Dead Sea and the gulf of Akabá, at the head of the Red Sea. It was the seat of the Edomites, who had command of the ports of the Red Sea, which placed the water-commerce of India and Egypt in their hands; and at this point the caravans rested between the Asiatic Seas and the Mediterranean. The position of the city on the borders of the desert also made it the chief mart between the desert and the fertile regions, where all the Arabian exports by land were brought together, to be sent on thence to Babylon and Susá. It was at all times a small city, about two miles in circumference, and occupied a site level and plain, but surrounded on all sides by lofty and for the most part perfectly precipitous mountains. The entrance to the spot is by a narrow pass, varying from 15 to 20 feet in width, and overhung by precipices which rise to the general height of 200 feet, and in some places to 500 feet. The sides of this defile are covered with excavations and sculptures till the ruins of the city are approached.

The valley is traversed by a river or mountain-torrent, and the chief buildings of the city stood on the banks of this stream and the high ground to the south of it. The most prominent of the edifices yet seen is a superb temple, called Khasné, or the Treasury of Pharaoh, entirely excavated out of the solid rock, and preserved from the ravages of the weather by the projection of the overhanging precipices. It occupies a square area of about 85 feet, and, measured from its platform, is nearly 65 high. Six pillars 35 feet in height support an ornamental pediment, above which stand six smaller pillars, the centre pair crowned by a vase and surmounted by statues and other ornaments. The urn, or vase, is 120 feet above the reach of human hands, and the Arabs believe that all the riches of Pharaoh are concealed in it. They frequently fire at it to break and get it down; but the work is so solid that their efforts are futile.

The temple is hewn out of an enormous and compact block of sand-stone, lightly covered with oxide of iron; but its interior is not so wonderful as its exterior. It contains three chambers, of which the principal one is hewn regularly and is in good proportion; but the walls are rough, and the doors lead to nothing. Of the other two chambers one is irregular, and the whole building has the appearance of having never been completed. The statues decorating the temple are numerous and colossal; and in the front of it are two columns of which one has fallen down. Had the structures been built, instead of being hewn, the destruction of the remains would have been much greater. As it is they suffer more from the humidity undermining the parts nearest to the ground than from the ravages of the weather on the higher portions.

The only other remarkable building yet standing is an amphitheatre cut out of the solid rock, with the exception of the stage which was constructed and has fallen into ruins. The seats of stone are thirty-three in number and slope upwards, and they are surmounted, and in some degree sheltered, by the rock above. To the east of the temple are the remains of a magnificent triumphal arch, beyond which on the south are extensive ruins, including those of paved roads and bridges, and of an aqueduct which was partly hewn and partly built, which is yet in a fair state of preservation. On the north side of the river are the vestiges of what were probably the habitations of the people.

The chief objects of attention in Petrá are, however, not the edifices of the city, but the cells or excavations which occupy the front of the rocks and the numerous ravines and recesses which radiate from them. The natural ravines and recesses were perhaps the only abodes of the original inhabitants at the outset; but, when their numbers increased, they were apparently forced to hollow out additional chambers for their use in default of more ready-made caves. This, however, was not the only purpose for which the excavated apartments were made. Both their number

and the recesses found in them for the reception of the dead indicate that a great many of them were appropriated as sepulchral chambers; and the general opinion now is that they were used solely for that purpose and none other. A good many of the chambers are immense in size, and enriched with splendid ornaments in the shape of pediments, entablatures, and statuary. The effect produced by these is yet further heightened by the rich and various colours of the rocks out of which they are hewn—red, purple, yellow, azure, black, and white being all distinctly seen in the same mass, in successive layers, and blended so as to form every shade and hue that can be imagined, and often as brilliant and soft as they appear in flowers or in the plumage of birds. Perhaps in no part of the world are the memorials of death more gorgeously enshrined.

Petrá was the capital of the Nabathæan Arabs, and the excavations speak very favourably of their perseverance and the amazing progress they made in architectural knowledge. In the reign of Trajan Arabia Petræá became a Roman province, and under the Romans the original structures of the Arabs received some restoration and even embellishment; but these are easily distinguishable from the rest, particularly by the character of their sculptures which mark a different age.

Baálbeck and Palmyrá are the links that indicate the course of the chain that connected Petrá and Tyre on one side with Babylon on the other. Baálbeck stood in the immediate vicinity of Damascus, and the ruins of it yet seen are so marvellous that the natives attribute the construction of the city to the fairies or the genii. Another name of the place was Heliopolis, from which it is supposed that it had a real and very intimate connection with the Egyptian town so called, namely, that they were both raised by the same people, and at the same epoch of their greatness; but of this there is no proof. A third hypothesis holds Baálbeck to be the same with Baálath, which, the Bible says, was founded by Solomon. The size of the city is small, not

more than four miles in compass, and it does not appear ever to have been a seat of royalty.

The ruins of Baálbeck consist of three temples, called respectively, the Great Temple, the Temple of Jupiter, Apollo, or the Sun, and the Circular Temple. The Great Temple was originally a kind of Pantheon, situated on a magnificent platform which raises it above the level of the ground. The portico is at the eastern end, and must have been reached by a grand flight of steps. A three-fold entrance leads to the first court, which is hexagonal in shape. A portal 50 feet wide gives admittance from this into the great quadrangle, which is 440 feet long and 370 broad. The peristyle of the temple proper is on the west of the court, and is 200 feet in length and 100 in breadth. Its front and back lines consist of ten columns each, and the two side-lines of seventeen columns each: which gives a total number of fifty-four columns. Each column is about 62 feet high, and composed of three blocks of stone or marble; but only one of the columns stands entire. The proportions and ornaments are so superb that the eye is never tired with gazing at them.

The Temple of the Sun is situated a little to the north of the Great Temple, and in size is larger than the Parthenon at Athens. The peristyle of columns was reached by a flight of steps on the eastern end, which has gone into decay. The height of the columns is 45 feet. An exquisitely carved doorway gives entrance to the interior of the temple, where the figure of an eagle represents the sun-god. The building was richly ornamented throughout, and the floor is full of broken sculptures and pillars. To the east of this stands the Circular Temple, which is of very small dimensions but of beautiful workmanship and design. It consists of a circular *celláˊ*, surrounded on the outside by eight Corinthian pillars, while within it there is a double tier of smaller pillars of which the lower row is Ionic and the upper Corinthian. The other ruins are numerous, but are represented only by immense quantities of hewn stones and fragments of pillars scattered in every direction,

among which remains of the military works of the Saracens and their successors are seen.

Baálbeck became a Roman colony in the time of Julius Cæsar, and the seat of a Roman garrison in the time of Augustus. It is said that a great temple to Jupiter was erected in it by Antoninus Pius, and that some other buildings were raised by Septimus Severus; but it is not certain whether the buildings were wholly constructed or only repaired and restored by them. *Primâ facie* the remains seen bear traces of great antiquity about them, and also the marks of having been restored and altered at subsequent epochs of their existence. That the Romans did much in the way of restoration is evident. The only question is whether they did anything more.

Antiquity has hardly left any remains to be in any way compared in magnificence with the ruins of Palmyrá. The ruins of Baálbeck are astounding, but consist only of three temples and heaps of fragments enclosed within a citadel, while those of Palmyrá extend over a much larger area and comprise some forty or fifty buildings of various kinds, from palaces to sepulchres, of which a fair outline can be traced. The site occupied by the ruins is an oasis of the desert, surrounded on three sides by a long chain of mountains, and lies almost midway between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, with absolutely no other place for miles around to rest in. Solomon is said to have founded the city, and to have named it Tadmor, though some assert that Tadmor existed before the time of Solomon, who merely enlarged and fortified it. The account of Josephus is that Solomon went to the desert above Syria and possessed himself of Tadmor, after which he built there a great city, selecting the site, because it lay on the way to and from India, and because there were springs and pits of water in it which were not to be found in the parts below. The ancient nations knew India to be a rich country, though her present possessors affect that she is not so, and the greatest facilities were given for the passage of her merchandise. Tadmor was the half-way house of

this traffic through Syria, the great mart for the exchange of commodities. Even the wealth of Solomon was thus indirectly derived from India. The name of Solomon's city was changed into Palmyrá by the Greeks, on account of its luxurious palm-groves.

If Palmyrá was built by Solomon, it is at least certain that the ruins now seen in it do not represent the buildings he erected. The city of Solomon was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar: when and by whom it was afterwards rebuilt, is not very definitely known. The ruins seen are mostly of the Macedonian, and a part of them of the Roman period, but neither history nor tradition speaks of any architect besides Solomon. Under the early Roman empire Palmyrá was an independent Roman city, and it may be that the Palmyrenes, getting rich by the passage of traffic through their capital, aggrandized it at their own cost. Others hold that Adrian repaired or reconstructed it, on the city submitting to him in A.D. 130, and named it Adrianopolis, an appellation which soon grew into disuse. After this period it was, as a rule, weakly governed by the Romans, which accounts for the power and greatness of Odenatus and Zenobia, under whom Palmyrá seems to have attained the summit of its greatness. Zenobia was reduced by Aurelian and carried as a captive to Rome, Palmyrá submitting to the Roman power. But the inhabitants rebelled soon after, upon which Palmyrá, rebuilt by a Roman, was destroyed by Roman hands. Aurelian repented of the act, and permission was given to restore the city; but, as Gibbon observes, it is easier to destroy than to restore, and Palmyrá was never able to reassert her greatness. It became a military station in the reign of Diocletian, and both he and Justinian did something in the way of repairs, merely with a view to strengthen the post as a Roman colony. The decline of the Roman power afterwards led to Palmyrá being abandoned.

According to the Arabs the ancient city had a circumference of ten miles; and they describe it as having been walled throughout, the walls being flanked by square

towers. But of this wall and its towers no traces remain, nor can the figure of the ancient town be now made out. The principal remains yet seen are those of a magnificent temple called the Temple of the Sun, of a piazza nearly as remarkable, of a portico and a banqueting house, and of several sepulchres.

The Temple of the Sun stands on a rising ground, near the south-eastern end of the city. Its outer court is a perfect square of 730 feet, and is enclosed by a lofty wall pierced with richly-carved windows. On the west side is the grand entrance, consisting of a portico of ten pillars and a magnificent staircase. The central door has sides and lintels composed of single blocks of stone, and is 32 feet high, while the side-doors are of half that size. The area within the temple is paved and is encompassed on three sides by a double row of pillars, and has a single row of pillars on the fourth side. The temple stands in the centre of this area, on a raised platform and towering above the adjacent edifices. It is entered by a dome 33 feet high and 15 wide, and was surrounded by a row of pillars 50 feet high. The pillars are now in fragments, and the roof of the temple has disappeared.

The piazza consists of two colonnades which intersect each other at right angles near the middle of the building. At the intersection are four stone platforms which once supported as many statues. The pillars by the most moderate computation were probably not less than five hundred in number, of which one hundred and twenty-nine are yet seen. To the south-west of this edifice are the remains of a triumphal gateway of three arches, the avenue of which counted four rows of pillars, of which some one hundred and fifty remain. On one of the arches some vines and clusters of grapes are seen carved in the boldest imitation of nature. The ruins of the banqueting-house are also remarkable, as exhibiting greater finish and elegance than the other buildings generally. As a rule the buildings were constructed of white limestone, but the pillars of the banqueting-house are seen to have been of marble, each made of

one entire stone, though measuring 22 feet. Among the other ruins are some shafts of Syenite granite, and these must have been brought up all the way from Egypt.

The sepulchres in Palmyrá are many, curious, and interesting. They are ranged on each side of a hollow towards the northern part of the city, and extend upwards of a mile. They are all square towers, four or five stories high, appearing much alike in form, though differing of course in magnificence. Among the other remains are those of two aqueducts built of hewn stone, which supplied the city with water. There is also a Saracenic castle, of a comparatively modern age, standing on the summit of a mountain immediately beyond the limits of the city, and commanding therefrom a fine view of the ruins.

The Syrian buildings have all, more or less, an aspect of solidity, which they owed probably to the dread of earthquakes which are frequent in the country; but, notwithstanding their general compactness, a great portion of the ruins both at Palmyrá and Baálbeck are now to be seen in fragments only—a palace of which nothing remains but the courts and walls, or a temple without its roof, or a portico, gallery, or triumphal arch, large portions of which have been thrown down. The fragments at Palmyrá have the further disadvantage of being exposed to the Siroc wind of the desert, which has a very corroding influence even on stone, and the capitals of the columns and the more delicate structures have suffered therefrom to a considerable extent. But they are still for the most part in sufficient preservation to be appreciated, and the pure whiteness of the stone of which the ruins are composed contrast pleasingly with the yellow sand of the desert.

The position of Palmyrá was a subordinate one so long as Tyre and Jerusalem continued to flourish, and it was not till after the decline of those rivals under the successors of Alexander that the city of the desert rose into greatness. It began to fall off in its turn a short time after its subjugation by Aurelian, so that the period of its magnificence did not exceed an interval of some five or six hundred years. Its commerce was mainly by land, and what it was

principally famous for was its retail trade. No species of commerce is so profitable as that of the wholesale buyer selling in retail, and this was exactly what the Palmyrenes did to the inhabitants of the desert. The decline of the city afterwards is attributable mainly to the diversion of traffic from the desert route. Palmyrá had no place except as a passage-country, and when that advantage was lost to it there was nothing to maintain its importance in its isolated position, and the people did not hesitate to desert a capital where they could not live idly. The only population it will naturally maintain is of the sort that inhabits it at present—wild Arabs, whose mean hovels stand in the strangest possible contrast with the ruins by which they are surrounded.

Of the ancient living cities of Syria, Damascus is the most important, and it is by some regarded as the oldest living city in the world, though it does not contain any vestiges of the past at present. It is situated on the Barradá river, and had at one time a circumference of twenty-five to thirty miles. Its position is excellent, it being surrounded on all sides by fertile fields and gardens, which give to it an appearance of great freshness and beauty; but the interior of the city is disappointing. The walls that surrounded it anciently have long fallen into ruins, its streets are narrow, and the whole town has a dull and monotonous appéarance. On the other hand, the streets are well-paved, and have an elevated foot-path on each side; and the houses, though outwardly presenting a wide superficies of dead wall, are, many of them, very handsome within, having gorgeous apartments, courts, and terraces, and marble pavements and sumptuous decorations. The mosques and chapels in the city are numerous, and some of them have an imposing appearance, particularly the Grand Mosque, which is of considerable extent and has a hospital attached to it. There are several other hospitals besides in the city, and a great many *kḥáns* and *seráis*, the Great Khán being held to be the finest in the East. It consists of a spacious quadrangle, having a superb gateway vaulted

and highly ornamented with sculpture. All these houses, however, are comparatively modern buildings: they do not represent the days of yore.

The only old building in Damascus is the castle, or fort, a large edifice of about three-quarters of a mile in circuit, which is said to have been constructed in very early times. It has a fine, rustic, and veteran appearance, and has three square towers in front and five on each side. In the oldest part of the building the stones are of extraordinary size, and indicate extreme antiquity; and within the enclosure are to be seen confused heaps of ruined palaces, remains of fountains and aqueducts, and gloomy dungeons and secret stair-cases, mixed up with strong works of defence, apparently of much later date. All parts of the citadel are not equally old, the additions and repairs to it having been constant and considerable.

Damascus was a well-known city in the days of Abraham, its past going back even beyond the time of the patriarch. The history of such a long existence could not but be much chequered, and is so. Under Benhadad and his son Damascus was at the head of a powerful empire. It succumbed afterwards successively to the power of Israel, Nineveh, Babylon, and Persia, and passed from the last under the domination of the Macedonians, and was afterwards owned by the Romans. Under the Greek empire of Constantinople it became the most celebrated city of the East, after which it was conquered by the Saracens, who established Mahomedanism in it in the place of Christianity, when it became the capital of the Mahomedan world, retaining that position till the Kaliphat was removed to Bagdád. It was at all times the seat of considerable trade, and has prolonged its existence to present times mainly on that account. It was particularly famous in ancient times for its cutlery.

Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine, lies within the *Páshálic* of Damascus, near the summit of a mountain ridge which forms the western wall of the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The city is a small one, its entire cir-

cumference in ancient times having never exceeded three and a half miles, while at present it hardly comes up to more than two miles. Its position gives it an imposing appearance from without, but it does not gain upon being looked at from within. The streets are narrow, and the irregularities of the ground caused by nature or time have never been levelled. The houses are built upon mountains of rubbish, and none of them are remarkable either for size or beauty. They are formed entirely of limestone, of which the country all round is composed. Wood is so expensive at the place that nothing is made of it except doors, sashes, and other similar appurtenances.

The antiquity of the city goes back beyond the time of David, who conquered it from the Jebusites, and built in it the castle of Zion. The site included the summit of two hills, upon the highest of which the fortress, or castle, was raised. The lower hill was called Akra, and opposite to it was a third hill, named Moriah, which was afterwards taken up for the temple raised by Solomon. The whole city was walled, and the walls were defended by turrets, though the real defences of the place were rather the precipices which surrounded it on all sides. It had ten gates, a very large number for a city so small; but the oriental nations seem all to have been more or less fond of gateways. Even now Jerusalem has so many as seven gateways, though four of them only are in use.

The principal building of Jerusalem was the temple, which was designed by David and constructed by Solomon. It was 90 feet long, 30 wide, and 45, or including an upper story of wood, 90 high. The porch, which stood on its eastern extremity, was 180 feet in elevation, and at its entrance were two columns nearly 35 high. The building throughout was of massive stone, wainscoted with cedar-wood covered with gold and ornamented with beautiful carvings. The floor of the temple was of cedar, boarded with planks of fir. The inner doors were made of olive, but the outer doors had only posts of that wood with leaves of fir. The temple was surrounded by two courts, which

were probably quadrilateral. Nebuchadnezzar destroyed this building and razed it to the ground.

The second temple was raised after the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus, who suffered them to rebuild it. It stood probably on the same site as the first, and was apparently of the same dimensions, though not so high. It was stormed by Herod, with the assistance of the Romans, but, after pulling it down, Herod raised another in its place, which, the Bible says, was "forty and six years in building." It was 165 feet long and 150 high, while, including the courts which surrounded it, the entire space taken up by it was 280 feet from east to west, and above 200 from north to south. The porch of the temple was 135 feet high. The place was so well defended that it was held to be impregnable, and during the final struggle of the Jews with the Romans, it was the scene of their last and most obstinate resistance. The temple was set on fire by a Roman soldier against the will of Titus, and was completely destroyed. A splendid mosque now stands on the site, erected by Kaliph Omár after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Saracens, in A.D. 636.

Besides the temple the only other building of note in ancient Jerusalem was the tower, or citadel, the remains of which are still pointed out as those of David's castle, though the building appears to have been subsequently much improved, if not wholly reconstructed, by Herod. It had all the extent and appearance of a palace, and was divided into apartments, including halls, galleries, and baths. There were also passages from it to the cloisters of the temple, by which soldiers could be despatched thither privately on occasions of great festivals, to quiet the tumults which frequently occurred.

Of the old ruins of Jerusalem nothing is now really extant, the place having been several times taken and sacked. The new city was built by Constantine the Great and his mother, Helena, and was constructed mainly of materials collected from the heathen monuments which were destroyed. It is best known now as a central point

of trade to the Arabs of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, and it appears that its original greatness also was mainly attributable to the extent of its corn trade. The country all round Jerusalem produced corn in the greatest abundance, while Phœnicia and the mountain-territory beyond it had none. It was also a large depôt of oil, honey, and wines; and these features of its character are still retained.

All the Syrian cities held in their hands for a long period the entire carrying-trade between the eastern countries of Asia and the western world, and this brought them enormous wealth, which led to their aggrandizement. They conveyed the products of India and China to the ports of Phœnicia, while through Petrá, they maintained a commercial intercourse with Egypt and Ethiopia. The route leading from Palmyrá eastward, again, after crossing the Euphrates, went downwards to Babylon, and thence to the Persian Gulf, so that Palmyrá and Babylon, in addition to their commerce by land, maintained a sea-trade with India and Arabia. Who built the great edifices which decorated the Syrian cities, and of which the ruins are seen in Baálbeck and Palmyrá, cannot now be confidently asserted; but how they came to be built is accounted for. They did not represent the greatness of Rome in the East, as is usually supposed, but the greatness of the Asiatic or Indian commerce that passed through them in the past. We know not how many centuries intervened between Babylon and Tyre on the one hand and Baálbeck and Palmyrá on the other, but the interval must have exactly corresponded with the time taken by Babylon and Tyre to secure the commercial greatness they attained. When the course of their commerce was altered the cities which had served as its rest-houses necessarily declined; and their desolation was afterwards completed by the followers of Mahomet, who spared no outrage to secure the establishment of their faith.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANCIENT CITIES ON THE ÆGEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN COASTS.

THE sea-coast cities of Asia Minor and Phœnicia became very great in ancient times from the advantages of their position, and of them one of the oldest was Troy, which has been immortalized by Homer, but the site of which cannot now be determined. There is no doubt about the "Plain of Troy;" and the rivers Scamander and Simois have also been generally identified with the Mendere and the Dombrek: but the precise spot on which the city stood is unknown. For a long time there was no dispute even on this point. The place was visited by Alexander the Great, and all the geographers of Greece and Rome accepted unquestioned the position he patronised. But, subsequently, one Demetrius of Skepsis, a learned native of the country, raised doubts as to the identity of the Alexandrian Troas with the Ilium of Homer, and to this day those doubts have not been resolved. The opinions since advanced in regard to the site are so conflicting that it is not possible to reconcile them one with another. Each new explorer has come forward with a place of his own choosing, agreeing with each other in nothing but this that the Troas of Alexander was to be repudiated. The latest explorations on the spot were those of Dr. Schliemann, who professes to have discovered the real site of Troy under the rubbish-heaps at Hissárlik. But the conclusion arrived at by him has not been generally accepted, the proofs adduced in support of it being considered insufficient.

The story of Homer is now largely admitted to be historically true; not perhaps in all its details, but certainly as to the main facts related. No doubts are entertained at

present of the great war which the Iliad records and of the destruction of Troy by the Greeks after a prolonged struggle. The principality was a small one, but included the whole maritime coast of the Hellespont and was in a flourishing condition; besides which, we learn from Plato that it was a dependancy of the Assyrian empire, which fully accounts for the strength evinced by it in the struggle. The city was of great extent, and, if we accept Homer's description of them, the edifices in it were both commodious and well-made. The palace of Priam, the poet says, had fifty marble apartments for the accommodation of his children, twelve others which were occupied by his sons-in-law, and one distinct wing constructed especially for the use of Paris and Helen. These details are of course purely imaginary, but they were meant to illustrate the greatness of the capital, of which apparently no doubt existed. After being destroyed by the Greeks the place was rebuilt, and it is affected that the ruins of these later buildings can yet be traced. One has discovered the remains of a temple, another those of a palace, a third the traces of a citadel, a fourth a mass of marble and granite fragments; and each contends that the ruins discovered by him are of the Trojan times, and mark the veritable site where Priam reigned. The confusion has been augmented by the circumstance of Constantine the Great having selected the Troad for his new capital before Constantinople was finally chosen. He abandoned the idea a short time after, but not till the construction of several buildings had been commenced, and the traces of these buildings are always cropping up to perplex the search for the remains of Troy. So far as modern research has gone, the evidence of Strabo remains virtually uncontradicted: namely, that "No trace of the ancient city remains."

Of the ruins which Alexander saw in the Troad the temple of Minerva was the most important, but no vestiges of it can now be followed. He also saw the tombs of Achilles and Ajax; and various tumuli are still seen in the place some of which are reputed to be as old as the time of the

Iliad, and are connected with the names of Homer's heroes. Near the Sigæan promontory are two earthen tumuli, believed to be those erected in honour of Achilles and Patroclus. The smaller is supposed to be that under which the remains of Patroclus were first buried; the larger the one erected over the remains of both Achilles and Patroclus, for Homer says that the Greeks gave them a common tomb, Patroclus's remains being removed from his first burial-place to be deposited side by side with those of his friend. This tomb, the poet represents, as having stood "on a tall promontory shooting far into the spacious Hellespont," and the larger tumulus is very conspicuous for its position and elevation from the sea. Similarly, a stone monument near the Rhætean promontory is believed to occupy the site of the tomb of Ajax, which was erected on the spot where the hero had defended the fleet against the rage of Hector and of Jove; and the view which the monument commands of the Hellespont and the Ægean seems to indicate it as an appropriate place. Some travellers affect to have also discovered the tomb of Hector, still marked by the pile of stones Homer allots to it; and adjoining it is a mound of earth which they make out to be the tomb of Priam. The other remains supposed to have been identified are those of the Acropolis, or citadel of Priam, the temples of Jupiter and Apollo, and the palace of Priam; but further reference to these is not necessary till the site of the city itself has been established.

The next place to remember as we run down the coast, is Ephesus, the capital of Ionia, which had the reputation of having been built by the Amazons. It stood on the river Cayster, between Smyrna and Miletus, and was one of the most considerable cities of Asia Minor. Under the Romans it was the capital of their dominions in Asia. It owed its importance mainly to the possession of a convenient and spacious harbour, that made it a grand emporium of commerce, which accounts for its having been rebuilt several times after destruction by wars and earthquakes. Traffic gave birth to the place, facilitated its growth, resuscitated

it from its ruins on several occasions, and placed it in a condition almost to dispute with Phœnicia the empire of the seas; but its classic celebrity it owed entirely to its temple of Diana, which was numbered among the wonders of the world.

The temple of Diana was a very ancient edifice, and probably dated from the foundation of the city. It was destroyed seven or eight times, but was as often rebuilt. An obscure person named Erostratus burnt it to the ground on the night that Alexander was born, with the avowed object of acquiring an infamous notoriety. Alexander afterwards offered to reconstruct it on the condition of being allowed to inscribe his name on the front of it; but this offer was indignantly refused by the Ephesians. The whole of Asia Minor then joined in re-erecting the building, while the women of Ephesus came forward even with their trinkets to contribute to the general fund. The new temple took two hundred and twenty years to build, and greatly surpassed the old one in beauty and magnificence. It was 425 feet long and 220 broad, and was supported by one hundred and twenty-seven columns, each the gift of a prince and 60 feet high. It was composed throughout of white marble, cedar, cypress, and gold, and was decorated with costly and magnificent paintings and statues, the works of the Grecian masters. The altar was the work of Praxiteles, and Apelles contributed to it a picture of Alexander. Nero despoiled the temple of much of its treasure; but even after his time it was regarded with great veneration. It was finally burnt down by the Goths, in the reign of Gallienus.

The ruins of Ephesus contributed much to the embellishment of Constantinople, the Emperor Justinian having removed to the latter place all the statues and decorations found in the former. The only vestiges of Ephesus now remaining are some broken columns and crumbling walls, the best part of even its coarser materials having been removed to construct the modern towns in its neighbourhood. The traces of an immense theatre are yet seen; a

splendid circus or stadium remains tolerably entire; and there are numerous piles of bricks, evidently the remains of palaces and temples: but these ruins are all of buildings raised after the Roman conquest. The only traces of human life on the spot now are represented by a few poor huts which form the village of Aisalook. On the ruins of paganism arose Christian temples; it was here that Paul preached, perhaps in the very theatre the ruins of which are yet seen; and the Emperor Justinian, who denuded the place of its best ornaments, also erected in it the Church of St. Sophia. After the lapse of centuries the Church of Christ had, in its turn, to make room for the mosque of the Saracen; but now there is neither temple, cross, nor crescent, nor a city on the site. The centre of civilisation is as silent as if it had been fixed in the centre of a desert: its present occupants are only some cowherds and their cattle.

Along with Ephesus should be noticed the town of Smyrna (previously skipped over), which is regarded by some as a colony of Ephesus, by others as a colony of the Arabians. This place also was several times taken and destroyed, first by Sadyattes, king of Lydia, in B.C. 627, after which it remained four hundred years in ruins. Alexander wanted to rebuild it, but did not. It was restored by Antigonus and Lysimachus, and retained the reputation of being one of the finest cities of Asia Minor till it was destroyed by an earthquake. The Emperor Aurelius reconstructed it next, after which it continued in existence to the end of the eleventh century, when it was destroyed by a Greek fleet operating against a Turkish chief who was then in possession of the city. It was rebuilt once more by the Emperor Comnenus. Timourlung captured it in 1402, after which it came finally into the possession of the Turks, its present masters. The site is noteworthy as the supposed birth-place of Homer. In ancient times it possessed a Homerium, or temple dedicated to the poet, and a cave was pointed out where his poems were said to have been composed.

Passing out from the Ægean into the Mediterranean, we run south-east to enter the port of Tyre, which was the commercial metropolis of the ancient world from very early times. It is said to have been founded by Hypsuranius, who lived before the flood, after whom the ancients called the place Sur, or Sour, which name was revived by the Hebrews. At the time of Hypsuranius the city consisted only of sheds built up with canes, rushes, and papyrii; and the best part of it may be said to have since come to nearly the same condition. Many ancient writers speak of Tyre as a colony of Sidon, and the Bible has some evidence on the point, which however is very contradictory, since at one place it speak of Tyre as "the daughter of Sidon," and at another as "the mother of the Sidonians." Josephus says that Tyre was founded two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple, by which he probably means that it acquired its ascendency in Phœnicia from that period. There is little doubt at all events that Tyre was regarded as one of the most valuable cities of Asia from the earliest eras of Babylonian greatness, and that it owed its importance at all times mainly as being the last mart in Asia for the wares of India and Babylon.

Originally, Tyre was a double city, of which one part stood on the mainland and the other on an island. The portion which stood on the mainland was called Palætyrus, and was the elder or more ancient; but, even when it existed alone, the island was used as a sanctuary in times of danger. The first enemy of the city was Shalmanesur, who besieged it in B.C. 720; and the next, Nebuchadnezzar, who attacked it similarly a hundred and thirty years after. The Tyrians being unable to withstand these assaults fled to the island with their riches, and, on the second occasion, Nebuchadnezzar razed Palætyrus to the ground, to prevent their returning to it. Nothing disheartened at this the Tyrians now began to build up the island-city, which, favoured by its strong position, soon equalled the parent city in greatness, and outlived the Assyrian and Persian empires. From

this time the island-city came to be regarded as the capital of Phœnicia, the "crowning city" which was called the "Queen of the Sea."

The accounts given of Tyre assign to it a circumference of nineteeen miles, which was protected by double and triple walls, very high and broad, and firmly built of large blocks of stone bound together with white plaster. The principal buildings of the city were three temples, dedicated respectively to Jupiter, Melcárth or Hercules, and Astarté; some spacious palaces and lofty towers; and the villas of the merchants, which lay between Palætyrus and the island-capital. The decorations of the buildings were gorgeous, and Herodotus describes a pillar of emerald shining with great brilliancy at night as one of the most striking ornaments of the temple of Melcárth. It is difficult of course to accept such statements in their integrity; but, in the case of Tyre, it must not be forgotten that it was the richest of all the cities of its day and traded with the whole world, that every article of commerce from the east was brought to its markets for sale and transmission to the west, and that it could afford to be as extravagant as the description implies.

The second city enjoyed its greatness till the time of Alexander, who made a wanton war against it, and burnt it to the ground. The Tyrians had voluntarily offered submission to the hero after his victory at Issus, but he wanted also the possession of their capital and fleet, which they would not give up. The city was besieged. The former town had held out against Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years, but the present was not able to withstand Alexander for more than eight months. To reduce it effectually Alexander converted the island into a peninsula by joining it with the mainland by a mole; and this has since been so completely covered with sand and mud that it looks very like a natural isthmus.

After treating Tyre with the greatest atrocity, Alexander rebuilt and replanted it, that future generations might regard him as the founder of a new city. But the interval

of peace was very brief, for within eighteen years after Tyre was besieged again, this time by Antigonus, who reduced it in fifteen months; and from that date till the conquest of the place by the Romans it frequently changed masters. Through all these vicissitudes of fortune the commercial position of the city was maintained, and this enabled it to hold up its head among the great cities of the earth, till, by the aggrandizement of Alexandria, the course of commerce was changed. Tyre now lost all the advantages which had made it great; its position was of no further advantage to it, and it became in a short time poor and desolate.

For a long time after this the site of Tyre was absolutely barren. The ruins served as a quarry for centuries for the construction of other cities, such as Beyrout and Acre, and were completely exhausted, nothing being left on the spot but the heavier materials—marble, granite, and porphyry—which could not be easily removed. Of the inland-city nothing whatever remains, and even its very site has come to be disputed. The condition of the peninsula is so far better that a modern village has sprung up within it, comprised mostly of hovels with a sprinkling of some houses of stone. The ancient ruins in it are crowded in heaps, one over another, and have a motley aspect. Along the eastern side of the peninsula a line of very old ramparts can be traced; on the south are some huge fragments of sea-wall; while along the whole western coast runs a ridge of ragged rocks strewn with shafts of red and gray granite. Besides these, fragments of pottery, building stones, and other similar ruins are seen in solid masses beneath the waters. What Tyre was principally famous for was its harbour, or harbours, for it had two, of which the one on the north measured 900 feet by 700. This has now almost entirely filled up with sand, and the smaller harbour on the south is nearly in the same plight.

Sidon, as has been already mentioned, is by some writers regarded as older than Tyre; but nothing is known for certain in respect to its origin. The name of the place bears

the same sense as the word "fishing," and, as it stands on a coast abounding in fish, the derivation of the name is easily explained. The town was very ancient, but perhaps never of any large size. It was important only on account of its commercial character, having nearly all the advantages which belonged to Tyre. The ancient Sidonians were also spoken of as being very expert artists, particularly by Homer, who ascribed the choicest works of art to them, just as the best dyes—especially all purple dyes—were invariably attributed to the Tyrians.

Sidon still exists; but the city is small, and its suburbs are narrow and crooked. The houses are better spoken of, being large and even elegant; and there are also some great *kháns* and *seráis* in it. On the plains beyond the town are luxuriant gardens and orchards, and the soil has the reputation of being very fertile. The antique remains on the spot are very few and insignificant, consisting mainly of marble and granite columns which have been made use of in modern houses. There are no ruins of any building of an earlier age than the Crusades. The only remarkable old monuments still seen are the rock-tombs, which are at the base of the mountains to the east of the town. They are hewn in tiers along the face of the cliff, and have stairs cut in the rocks leading up to them. In their internal arrangements they, like the similar excavations at Petrá, resemble dwelling-houses or apartments more than sepulchres for the dead. In one of them a sarcophagus of black marble was found which has been removed to Paris.

We may notice the city of Carthage also in this place, as a colony of Tyre. It is said to have been founded by Dido, or Elishá, the sister of Pygmalion, a king of Tyre, after she fled from his power on her husband, Sichárbas, being murdered by him. Virgil has taken strange liberties with the name of Dido, who founded Carthage in B.C. 846, or some three hundred years after the destruction of Troy, which was the era of Æneas. Far from being lovers they were not contemporaries even; but there is no reason to doubt that Dido really existed, or that she founded the Phœnician

colony on the African coast. The colony was afterwards strengthened on the conquest of Tyre by Alexander, when many of the Tyrians fled to it with their riches for refuge.

The beginning of Carthage, like that of Rome after it, was very weak; but, like Rome also, it slowly and gradually expanded itself, till it became a great power, having dominion not only on the African coast, but over a great part of Sicily, nearly the whole of Spain, and several of the western islands of the Mediterranean. The city stood on an isthmus, and, with the territory around it, enclosed a circumference of about twenty miles. It was bounded on the north and east by the sea, and on the south by a lake. On the western side, which faced the interior, it was defended by a range of cliffs stretching across the isthmus, which could only be traversed by passes cut through the solid rock. On the eastern side of the promontory was an excellent harbour, with an inner basin reserved for ships of war; while a fortress, or castle, named Brysá, guarded the place from the land side. The city had a three-fold wall 45 feet high and 30 broad. The principal buildings in it were a magnificent temple of Apollo and some houses six stories high. The castle was surmounted by a temple dedicated to Æsculapius.

The history of Carthage is well known, and it is not necessary to narrate at length the steps by which its greatness was secured. Being surrounded by countries without a master it increased its dominions easily by conquests, uniting the spirit of commerce with an eagerness for territorial aggrandizement. Its maritime commerce was great, and secured to it the empire of the seas for above six hundred years, while it also carried on an extensive trade by land, keeping up an intimate intercourse with the inner nations of Africa. The greatness thus achieved filled Rome with envy, and gave rise to the Punic wars which broke down the Carthaginian power; but it is hardly right to attribute the fall of Carthage solely to the preponderance of Rome. A continuous struggle was maintained by it with Rome for more than a hundred years, and, if Carthage was finally destroyed, it was only on account of the degeneracy

of its inhabitants brought on by their excessive wealth. The heights of Brysá were stormed by Scipio Æmilianus, in B.C. 147, and Carthage was burnt to the ground. Scipio had wished to spare the city; but his orders from Rome left him no choice. He was directed to destroy Carthage and its fortresses in such manner that no traces might be left of them; and, in compliance with those orders, all its walls, ramparts, and towers were levelled with the ground, after which the remaining edifices were set on fire, which continued to burn with unabated fury for seventeen days. No vestige of Carthage can therefore now be traced.

The cities noticed above, Carthage apart, belonged to Asia Minor and Phœnicia, as distinguished from Syria and the other inland provinces, but there was no real distinction between the races that inhabited the different divisions of the country, excepting of course the Greek immigrants who colonised Ionia. All the original tribes on the coast-districts were virtually Syrians—Syrians of the sea-shore as distinguished from those that lived inland. Among these the Phœnicians were the most famous; and they made themselves so famous solely by cultivating the arts of peace. This peculiarity of character belonged also to the inhabitants of the other states we have named; but history has not handed down to us the same precise information in regard to them as in regard to the Phœnicians, and we are unable therefore to determine why the development in all cases was not similar. One possible reason seems to have been this: that the Phœnicians began and ended as Syrians, without intermixing with any of the immigrant races, as the natives of the Ægean coast did.

All the coast-cities alluded to were naturally the great marts for the oriental merchandise wishing to pass on to Europe or the north coast of Africa, and they had all the same facilities to convey the traffic across the Mediterranean. These facilities were best cultivated by the Phœnicians, who improved and expanded the commercial trait in the national character to the greatest extent. Their state was a very small one, one of the smallest states of anti-

quity, just as England, apart from her foreign possessions, is at this moment; but, like the English, they became masters of the sea in their day, and their commerce had no bounds but those of the then known world. They overthrew no cities, demolished no empires: their expeditions were peaceful and bloodless, their course marked throughout by a long series of flourishing colonies. Of these colonies the greatest was Carthage, which inherited from the parent state its spirit of commerce. The desire of conquest afterwards sprang up in it, a passion always fatal to trading nations; and that eventually led to its destruction. The mother state, we have seen, was reduced by Alexander; but it did not die out then from the violence it received. Its decline commenced from the foundation of Alexandria, after which it ceased to be the chief mart of commerce on the Mediterranean coast. This also was the cause of the decay of Ephesus, namely, the diversion of commerce from its port; and, in both cases, the issue was hastened by the tyrannous policy of the Saracens, by whom the two cities were finally subjugated.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RUINED CITIES OF GREECE AND ITALY.

THE ruins of Greece and Italy are so well known that we doubt exceedingly if any notice of them is really called for from us in these pages. They have been *visited* by most readers of the day, and those who have not seen them have read full accounts of them which have long been in the hands of all the world. We could hardly say anything of them which has not been better told before. Our reference to them, therefore, will be very brief, such, in fact, as will barely answer the object of making our account of ancient ruins in every respect complete.

The most ancient city of Greece was Mycenæ, the capital of Agamemnon, which was the first of Greek cities in his day. It was founded by Perseus, and had the reputation of having been raised by the Cyclops, the materials of which it was formed being too massive, it was believed, to have been moved about by men. The Acropolis, or citadel of the city, stood on a rocky height, in a recess of the mountains bordering on the Argian plain, and on the south-west of this was the lower town, both surrounded by very strong walls. The length of the Acropolis was about 600 feet, and its breadth about 300: and the whole of the circuit can still be made out—in some places indicated by walls as high as 15 and 20 feet. Some portions of the walls consist only of huge misshapen blocks of stone placed one above another with the interstices filled up by smaller fragments; others are made of stones hewn and regularly placed, but still having a style of rudeness about them. The approach to the citadel was by a passage 50 feet long and 30 wide, which was formed by two parallel and projecting walls. The entrance was made of three stones, of

which two stood upright and were crossed by the third. The last was 15 feet long, four wide, and 6½ thick in the middle but diminishing towards each end. On this stone stood another of a triangular shape, which was 12 feet long, 10 high, and two thick. The ruins of this gate are still standing; there are two enormous lions cut in relief on the face of the stones.

The other relics in the Acropolis are those of temples and tombs, including the tomb of Agamemnon, which was entered by a subterranean passage. Dr. Schliemann has discovered five of these tombs, with treasures in them, and believes them to be the tombs of Agamemnon, Cassandra, and the others who were murdered by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra and then interred with all their wealth in the Acropolis. In the lower city the most important ruins are the subterranean chambers called the "Treasury of Atreus," which was the depository of the wealth of the earlier kings; and here the treasures of the Atridæ were also believed to have been buried.

The ruins of Mycenæ are extensive, and prove the magnitude of the power of the Atridæ. They are also interesting as affording examples of the architecture, sculpture, mythology, and customs of the heroic ages, of which we have no other remains. The city began to decline almost immediately after the death of Agamemnon. It was captured by the Argives, in B.C. 468, which led to its being desolated and abandoned.

The only other city of Greece which we shall notice is Athens, which became the greatest of the Grecian cities on a later day, and contains the best ruins to be seen in the country. It was built on the summit of rocks standing in the midst of a wide and pleasant plain, which afterwards became filled with edifices. The upper city was called the Acropolis, the lower the Catapolis, the total circuit of the two being one hundred and seventy-eight stadia, or about eighteen miles. Amphictyon dedicated the city to Minerva or Athenæ, after whom it was thenceforth named. The poets called it "learned Athens," Thucydides named it the

"academy of Greece," and Diodorus the "school of mankind," and never were such titles of honour better bestowed.

The citadel, or Acropolis, which Thucydides says was commonly called "the city," was sixty stadia in circumference, and included many extensive buildings. There were so many remarkable things in it that Heliodorus is said to have written fifteen volumes to describe them. The chief of these monuments was the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, which occupied the most elevated platform. The temple was once destroyed by the Persians, but was rebuilt by Pericles. It was not very large in size, being about 228 feet long, 102 broad, and 68 high; but was so well-made, and was so perfect in its proportions and so full of intellectual beauty as to be accounted one of the most magnificent buildings in the world. It was built entirely of white marble, and was adorned with sculptures from the hands of the Grecian masters. The statue of Minerva was by Phidias, a master-piece of art, 46 feet high, and formed entirely of ivory richly decorated with gold. The sculptures inside the temple represented a religious procession, while those outside related the mythical history of the city. Its two pediments were decorated with compositions of statuary, one representing the birth of Athenæ, and the other her contest with Neptune. The changes of government in Greece converted the building successively into a church, a mosque, and a powder-magazine. A bomb having fired the magazine the best works of art in it were completely destroyed. The whole of the temple is now in ruins, with the exception of some columns of the eastern front and the sides, which are yet standing. Of the sculptures nothing but fragments remain, the completest portion yet standing being that which represents the battle between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ.

The Propylæa was another building of white marble which formed the vestibule of the five doorways by which the Acropolis was entered. It rivalled the Parthenon in felicity of execution and surpassed it in boldness of design. The main building consisted of a front of six fluted columns

mounted upon four steps which supported a pediment, and behind this there was a colonnade formed by a double row of columns which divided the building into three aisles or compartments. The centre edifice is now in ruins. On its right wing was a temple of Victory, of which fragments are yet seen representing the contest of the Athenians with the Amazons. On the left are six whole columns with gateways between them, the pillars being white as snow.

Opposite to the Parthenon, on the western edge of the Acropolis, was the Erectheum, designed expressly to contrast with the Parthenon, the one severely sublime, the other exquisitely beautiful. It was divided into two parts, one of which was dedicated to Minerva, the other to Neptune, the former being by far the more important division of the building. In one interior chamber of it grew the tree of Athenæ, and in another the remains of Cecrops were believed to have been buried. The best remains of it still seen are some caryatide female figures which supported the southern portico.

In front of the Acropolis, at each end of it, were two theatres—one of Bacchus, the other the Odeum: the former for dramatic exhibitions, the latter for musical competitions. The theatre of Bacchus was believed to be the most beautiful architecture of its kind in existence, and was famous for its store of statues, including all the great tragic and comic poets. The Odeum had its roof formed of the masts and yards of the Persian ships of war captured at Salamis, which, rising to a point, gave the structure the appearance of a pavilion, it being meant to represent the pavilion of Xerxes. The condition of both the buildings is now the same; their arenas have sunk down, but portions of the outer walls remain and are seen to be of enormous size.

The principal specimens of architecture in the lower city were the Poikile, or gallery of historical paintings, the temple of the Winds, and the monuments of celebrated men; but the vestiges of these are not very extensive, though some of them are exceedingly beautiful. Of the

Poikile three handsome columns remain supporting an architrave. The temple of the Winds was an octagon, with reliefs on each side representing the principal winds, a building of very simple but elegant design, of which some portions are yet seen. Of the monuments of distinguished men, with which a whole street was filled, the monument of Lysicrates only exists—a pedestal surrounded by a colonnade and surmounted by a dome, the whole exhibiting the beauty of Greek art in its greatest perfection.

Two of the largest Athenian edifices stood beyond the city-walls, namely, the temples of Theseus and Jupiter Olympius, one of which stood to the north and the other to the south of the city. Theseus was one of the earliest and best kings of Athens, who, having been expelled from his kingdom by his subjects, died by violence in a foreign land. In a fit of tardy remorse some centuries after the Athenians determined on recovering his bones, and, succeeding in doing so, raised a temple to his memory, revering him as a demigod, though others assert that the temple was dedicated to Mars. The main body of the temple, which differed very little from the Parthenon except in its dimensions, is yet almost entire, but a great portion of it has been re-erected.

The original temple of Jupiter Olympius is said to have been founded by Deucalion, but fell into decay at a very early period. Pisistratus commenced to build a new one on the site, but this was left unfinished because the Athenians hated him and would not assist him to complete it. Many additions were made to it by the Romans, and it was not finished till the time of Adrian, who made it the very best and most splendid building appertaining to the city. The temple was 354 feet in length and 71 in breadth. It was adorned on the outside by one hundred and twenty fluted columns, 60 feet high and six in diameter. The interior of it was more than half a league in circumference. The statue of the god was by Phidias, and was made, like the statue of Minerva in the Parthenon, of ivory and gold. The remains of the temple now consist of sixteen pillars, which are still standing.

Among the other buildings of Athens were the Pantheon, which was dedicated to all the gods; the Court of Areopagus, or that in which Mars was tried for homicide; the Prytaneum, or the Senate House; and the Pynx, or place of public assembly, where the people deliberated. The Pantheon and the Prytaneum have left no vestiges to notice. Of the Court of Areopagus the steps hewn on the rock, which were places for the judges to sit upon, are seen, and also the stations for the accuser and accused; but there are no traces of the roofing and the enclosure which were given to it, as is related by Vitruvius. The Pynx is nearly in the same condition. The place from which the orators spoke is seen hewn in the rock, and also the seats of the scribes. Where the gymnastic exercises of the people were performed the paths for running are likewise visible. But beyond these vestiges there are none others to notice.

We have referred to the more important buildings of Athens only, as it is not possible to enumerate all the buildings that existed in it within the limits available to us. Among the places which were interesting for the recollections connected with them, were the gardens of the philosophers, where they were wont to impart their lectures—the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle, and the scarcely less renowned resorts of Epicurus, Cynosarges, and others. Of these the positions only can now be identified.

Besides the two divisions of Athens already referred to, there was a third consisting of the port-towns of Munychia, Phalerum, and the Piræus, which were connected with the city by the celebrated Long Walls, and protected by a chain of massive fortifications. The Long Walls were among the objects of the greatest curiosity in Athens, and were flanked at intervals with towers. They remained entire for fifty-four years, after which they were dismantled on the capture of Athens by the Peloponnesian army. They were rebuilt afterwards, to be again broken down and destroyed by Sylla. The foundations of the walls are yet seen in parts, especially where they were connected with

the fortifications of Phalerum and the Piræus. The fortifications were all destroyed by Sylla, whereby the maritime supremacy of Athens was terminated, and the whole city fell never to rise again.

The ancient Athenians dwelt in rock-hewn caves in the slopes of their hills, where traces of those dwellings are yet to be seen. From such beginnings to the Parthenon, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and the other buildings we have named, was an enormous advance in knowledge and arts which had no counterpart among the nations that preceded them. The works of primitive antiquity were all more or less rude. The Athenians, who had the Egyptian and Assyrian models before them, improved on both by a close study of the forms and proportions of nature. The culminating point of their architectural greatness was that when the Parthenon was erected, which was also the culminating point of their history, literature, and politics. The glory of Athens departed when Sylla destroyed the works of the Piræus. Adrian's love of the arts led to the partial restoration of the city at a subsequent period; but the people had become lifeless, and their spirit could not be revived. Subsequently, the works of art came to be stolen from Athens wholesale by indefatigable collectors, who removed them mainly to Constantinople. The masonry remains, which could not be removed, were left behind, to excite the astonishment of an unbelieving age.

Our notice of Italy must be as brief as that of Greece. The most ancient city in it was Veii, the capital of Etruria, which figured in early history as the rival of Rome. It was more ancient than Rome, and possessed an extensive territory on the right bank of the Tiber; and, being one of the earliest seats of European civilisation, gave to Rome her laws, customs, and religion. The city was very powerful, and in the course of three hundred and fifty years carried on no less than sixteen wars with Rome, and both it and the country by which it was surrounded were stocked with buildings of every description, including walls and fortifications, palaces, temples, and theatres. Of these

buildings some heaps of ruins only are to be seen, or at best portions of some ancient walls, traces of one or two bridges, and the outlines of a temple or a theatre. What we now know Etruria best for are her cemeteries and her works of public utility, the latter of which were studied to some purpose by Rome, and furnished to it the best lesson that has been transmitted to later times.

The sepulchres of Etruria are of three kinds, namely, (1) rude graves sunk a few feet beneath the surface of the earth and covered with rough-hewn stones; (2) tumuli, a form of entombment well known to all nations in an early stage of civilisation and to which we have referred in speaking of Troy; and (3) rock-hewn chambers hollowed in the sides of cliffs, which are so common in Egypt, Petrá, and Persia. The relics seen of these sepulchres report very favourably of the civilisation of Etruria. The first or most primitive style referred to is represented by conical pits eight or nine feet deep by six in diameter, and each having a kind of altar, probably for the reception of votive offerings. Of the second style is the tomb of Propertius, a king of Etruria, which is still seen. The tomb of Porsenna, which Varro describes, was evidently a nobler specimen of the same kind, but it has not been discovered. Varro says that Porsenna was buried under the city of Clusium, in a spot where he had left a rectangular monument 300 feet square and 50 high, within which was an almost inextricable labyrinth. On the square basement of this were five pyramids, namely, one at each corner with one in the centre, all supporting a brazen circle and a pedamus, from which bells were hung by chains, which, stirred by the wind, resounded from a great distance. Upon this circle were other pyramids supporting another floor, over which were the crowning pyramids which completed the tumulus. The description given is of a very remarkable structure; but we need not reject the account as fictitious, seeing that other tombs with labyrinthine passages and tumuli above them have been discovered, though they are not precisely as wonderful as the one described. Of the

third style the specimens extant are many. As a rule they open with a simple doorway in the side of the cliff, which leads first into a small ante-chamber, and thence into a larger chamber. In these sepulchres large urns have been discovered, which probably held the ashes of dead relatives. The walls of several tombs are to be seen completely covered with paintings, the colours of which, though much faded, seem to have been originally very brilliant; in others, inscriptions are to be read graven deep in the smooth surface of the rock; while from others again, the most splendid collections of Etrurian antiquities have been extracted, explaining the manners, customs, and religion of the people to a considerable extent.

Of the works of public utility in Etruria the most noticeable were the tunnels and canals, carried through rocky mountains, for the purpose of carrying off the superabundant water of her lakes and rivers when apt to overflow, and for irrigating parched tracts where the supply of water was insufficient; stupendous sewers which drained all her populous towns, and the idea of which was borrowed from her by Rome; and numerous high-roads which facilitated internal communication. The swamp at Arno was drained by means of a cut through mount Gonfanlina; the arms by which the Po discharges itself were excavated; there are lakes which are even now dried up by means of tunnels which are unknown and which have never been cleared out, but which still draw off the water as before.

The Etruscans have also the credit of having originated the style of house architecture prevalent throughout Italy to this day. Their art, as exhibited in bronze and clay and in bas-reliefs, is likewise much praised. They are further said to have had a name for agricultural, and other rural pursuits, and to have carried on a brisk trade with Greece, Egypt, and Carthage, which accounts fully for the envy they excited among the Romans. According to the Roman historians the struggle of Veii with Rome was uniformly unsuccessful. After a ten years' siege Camillus finally took the city and levelled it with the ground. At

this time Veii was larger and more magnificent than Rome.

Rome was founded by Romulus, though that story is not to be received unchallenged at this day. It was called the "seven-hilled city" from having been built on the elevations named Palatinus, Capitolinus, Aventinus, Quirinalis, Cælius, Viminales, and Exquilinus. Its limits were afterwards extended by the addition of Janiculum, Vaticanus, and Collis Hortulorum. The city suffered several times and greatly from conflagrations. It was first burnt down by the Gauls, but at that time its dimensions were inconsiderable; nor did the new city which replaced it become noteworthy till some three hundred and fifty years after, or the reign of Augustus, whose boast was that he found it of brick and left it of marble. It is of this Rome—the Rome of Augustus and his successors—that we have now to speak. It was three times set on fire, once in the reign of Nero, when the conflagration was attributed to the Christians, a second time in the reign of Titus, and a third time in the reign of Trajan; and the city suffered so much on these occasions that Tacitus says that "scanty relics lacerated and half-burnt" only remained of it. But Trajan raised it again from its ashes, and was followed by Adrian and the Antonines, whose example was imitated by the senators, who vied with each other in beautifying their eternal city. Every quarter of Rome was by these means filled with temples, theatres, forums, porticos, columns, triumphal arches, baths, aqueducts, drains and sewers, roads, bridges, &c.; while all the nobler monuments of architecture were adorned with the finest and most beautiful productions of sculpture and painting.

The extent of Rome was greatest in the reign of Valerian, when it had a circuit of fifty miles. Of the temples within this area the most important was the Capitol, so-called from a human head having been found on the site when its foundation was being laid. This was the highest part of the city and was both strongly fortified and magnificently adorned. The temple was consecrated to Jupiter,

Minerva, and Juno, each of whom had a cell in it. Near the ascent to it was the "Asylum" or "Sanctuary," opened by Romulus in imitation of the Greeks. The whole of the Capitol has now fallen down, its site and ruins only being known by the name of Campedoglio; and, no intelligent description of its former state being extant, we have no means of judging of its magnificence precisely at this day.

The next temple of importance was the Pantheon, erected, it is said, after the building of the same name which had existed at Athens, and dedicated like it to all the gods. This edifice stands entire, and is called the Rotundo from its round figure, and is now consecrated to the Virgin and All Saints! It is 140 feet high and is of about the same breadth, and has a portico 110 feet long and 44 wide, which is supported by sixteen columns. Each of the shafts of these columns is one piece of granite 42 feet high, while the bases and capitals are of white marble. The interior of the building has a diameter of nearly 150 feet, its roof is vaulted, and it has no windows but only an opening in the dome for the admission of light. The walls inside are either of solid marble, or merely incrusted; but the crust of fine marble has now disappeared. The covering of the outer side was formed of brazen plates gilt, while the top was overlaid with silver plates, both of which have since been substituted by lead-sheets. The gate was of brass and of extraordinary strength, and the ascent to it was by twelve steps, while now they go down to it by as many paces, the earth around it having risen. This is one of the finest temples of the old world extant, and combines first-rate interior arrangements with great architectural beauty and sublimity.

The other temples in Rome included those of Apollo on the Palatine hill, of Diana on the Aventine, of Janus, which had two large gates, one on each side, to be opened in war and kept shut in peace, with many more, reckoning those dedicated to demigods and earthly divinities, such as Romulus and Augustus. Most of these are now in fragments, and call for no notice on that account. A great

many of them besides were, in their best days, comparatively insignificant.

The public amusements of Rome were connected with her religion, and the theatres necessarily rank next to the temples in importance. Of these the principal was the Coliseum, which was of an elliptical shape, 1168 feet in external circumference, the larger axis being 628 feet and the shorter 540, while the height of the building was 162 feet, partitioned into four stories. Of the arena, or space within, the longer diameter was about 281 feet and the shorter 176, the intermediate space between the external circumference and the arena being occupied by a circuit of seats and galleries calculated to accommodate eighty thousand spectators. The open arcades presented a series of three ranges, each tier of which consisted of thirty arches. The number of staircases in the building was one hundred and sixty, namely, sixty-four leading to the first floor, fifty-two to the second, sixteen to the third, twenty-four to the fourth, and four to the extreme top for workmen. In the passages on the ground-floor were shops, taverns, refreshment-rooms, stables, and other similar accommodations. There was one subterranean passage communicating with the palace, for the use of the emperor.

A part of the Coliseum has been demolished to furnish materials for other buildings, but what remains of it is still a marvel of human labour and ingenuity, standing as an image of Rome itself—decayed, vast, and vacant. It forms unquestionably the most admirable monument of Roman power; but it is also a standing witness of Roman ferocity. Five thousand wild beasts tore each other on the arena on the first day the mighty pile was opened, and for two hundred and fifty years after the most dreadful scenes of carnage and violence disgraced it, while men and women of noble birth crowded to the seats and galleries to witness the agonies, not only of wild beasts, but of the human beings exposed to their fury—of gladiators, captives, malefactors, and slaves.

In the Campus Martius, on the banks of the Tiber, were

three other places of general resort, namely, the Circus Maximus, which was used mainly for the celebration of the games; the Stadium, for the running of men and horses; and the Gymnasium, for exercising the athletæ. All these places were of less note than the Coliseum, but were put to better use. Traces of them are yet visible, though they are not always very definite.

The forums of Rome were also places of popular resort, both for business and pleasure, and of these the largest was an oblong place lying between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, having spacious halls and porticos around it in which assemblies of the people were held, justice administered, and public business transacted. All these halls and porticos have now fallen in and crumbled into dust, while the site of the forum is used as a market-place for pigs, sheep, and oxen. The total number of regular forums all over the city was five, but there were market-places besides which were called by the same name.

Among the ornamental edifices in the city the most remarkable were the porticos, columns, and triumphal arches. The porticos were all grand in appearance, well-paved, and supported by marble pillars; and underneath them the senates and courts of justice were sometimes held, while stalls were provided at the sides for the sale of jewels, pictures, and other articles of similar description. They were most famous, however, as the places where the authors recited their works and where the philosophers held their disputations, and in this respect held the same position as the gardens of the philosophers in Greece.

The columns were erected in honour of great men or to commemorate illustrious actions, and were necessarily numerous; but two of these only were very remarkable, namely, the columns of Trajan and Aurelius Antoninus. Trajan's column stood in the midst of his forum, and was composed of twenty-four great pieces of marble, so curiously cemented as to seem but one. Its height was 144 feet, it was ascended by one hundred and eighty-five steps, and it had fifty windows for the admission

of light. The whole building was incrusted with marble, on which the warlike exploits of the emperor were represented. On the top of it was a colossal figure of Trajan, with a hollow globe of gold in his hand in which his ashes were said to have been deposited. The column of Antoninus was similar in design, and 176 feet high. The ascent to it was by two hundred and six steps, and it had fifty-six windows. The sculptures and other ornaments were much of the same kind with those on Trajan's column, while on the top of it was an equestrian statue of the emperor, which was at one time the idol of Rome. The spirited attitude of the horse was particularly praised, and it is said of Michael Angelo that, having looked at the figure for some time in silent admiration, he addressed it suddenly, exclaiming: "Get on!" Both the columns are still standing, but the statues at the top have been obliged to make way for those of the Apostles—Peter and Paul!

The triumphal arches were erected in honour of illustrious generals on gaining signal victories. Those first erected were very simple-looking and built of brick or hewn stone; but the later arches were more magnificent and built of the finest marble. The most distinguished of these are yet to be seen, namely, the arches of Titus and Septimus Severus, the first of which commemorated the conquest of Jerusalem, the second the victories over the Parthians. The arch of Titus is a single arch, but celebrated for the beauty of its details; that of Septimus Severus is composed of one centre-arch for carriages and two side-arches for foot-passengers, which contributes much to the splendour of the edifice. Along with these buildings may be noticed the pyramid of Cestus, a very ancient edifice and the sole specimen of a pyramid in Rome. It is 97 feet at the base and 124 high, is formed externally of white marble, and is very graceful and picturesque in appearance.

The baths, or thermal establishments, were buildings peculiar to Rome, many in number, and vast in size; and some of them are still in a fair state of preservation. The

most extensive of them were the baths of Titus and Caracalla, both of which are now roofless, while those of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian are mere heaps of ruin. The bath of Diocletian is among those in good condition, and has since been converted into a church and considerably altered.

The aqueducts brought water into the city from a distance of more than sixty miles, through rocks and mountains and over hills and valleys, supported on arches in some places 109 feet high, one row being placed above another. Their uniform height all through was such that a man on horseback could ride through them, and they had each a declivity of at least one quarter inch for every 100 feet. Some say that they were twenty in number, others that they were fourteen. The first is said to have been constructed by Appius Claudius, who brought water into the city from a distance of eleven miles. The remains of several of them are yet extant.

The drains, sewers, and sinks of the city, which carried its filth into the Tiber, were also of ancient construction. The oldest of them was the Cloacá Maximá, said to be the work of Tarquinus Superbus. It still exists, and at its outlet in the Tiber is about 13 feet high. It was the principal of a net-work of sewers of great solidity and durability, which passed underneath the streets. From want of regularity in rebuilding the city after it was burnt down by the Gauls the sewers in many places came to pass under private houses; but the arches which supported the streets and buildings over them were so high and broad that a wain loaded with hay could have gone through them, and boats of ordinary size navigated them.

Not the least of the Roman works were the roads and highways, which extended to the utmost limits of the empire, from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Euphrates. The Carthaginians were the first to pave their streets with stones, and after them the Romans. The paving in Rome was with the hardest flint, so firmly set that in several places it remains entire to this day, and so artfully joined

as to appear as one stone. There were two strata below, the first of rough stones cemented with mortar, the second of gravel, the whole making a thickness of three feet. On each side of the road thus paved, there was usually a row of larger stones called Margines, a little raised for foot-passengers. Every road was marked off by milestones, and at smaller distances were stones for travellers to sit upon and to assist horsemen who may have alighted to remount their steeds. There were inns and stages also along the larger roads, commonly at the distance of half a day's journey from one another, and places for relays where the public couriers changed horses. With all these facilities for the despatch of public intelligence, however, there were no public posts, no facilities whatever to further the purposes of commerce and private communication.

The bridges in ancient Rome were eight in number, and there were several others out of it. One bridge at a distance of sixty miles from the city joined two mountains over the river Nár, and was of stupendous height and size, of which one arch still remains entire. The bridge of Trajan at Alcantara, in Spain, was another stately fabric built wholly of stone, and consisted of six arches, of which the central two were of 100 feet span. The most magnificent of Roman bridges, however, was that over the Danube, also constructed by Trajan, which was raised on twenty-two piers of hewn stone 150 feet high from the foundation, 60 broad, and 170 distant from one another, the superstructure above being of wood. This work was demolished by Adrian, under the pretext of preventing the barbarians from having an easy passage over the river, but probably, as some assert, from envy, because he despaired of raising anything to rival it.

The remains of ancient Rome may be classed as having belonged to three different periods, namely, the era of kings, the republican period, and the imperial period. Of regal Rome very little has escaped the ravages of time, nothing in fact except the Cloacá Maximá, to which we have referred, and the Mamertine prison, consisting of two

chambers, one above another, with a hole in the upper one through which prisoners were let down into the cell below. Of the republican period the principal buildings were the temples, the forums, and the aqueducts, of which the last were begun in the regal period and were not perfected till the imperial period, when they came to be regarded among the noblest embellishments of the city. All the other works belonged to the imperial period, when every great monument of Roman glory was either raised or completed.

The removal of the seat of empire to Byzantium by Constantine was the first step towards the destruction of Rome, which from that time became an easy prey to its barbarian enemies. It was sacked, pillaged, and partially burnt by the Goths, and the most exquisite works of art were shivered by their battle-axes. This was followed by the violence of the Vandals and Moors, who revenged on Rome the injuries she had inflicted on Carthage. Then followed the destruction of the city by its own children, which slowly and silently defaced the fairest forms of architecture for the most petty constructions and repairs. After that again, there were other minor desecrations and the domestic quarrels of the Romans, which did quite as much mischief as the hostile demonstrations of the barbarians and Christians. Frequently also, the Tiber rose against the eternal city and inundated it. And yet, notwithstanding all this havoc, the ruins of Rome are to this day neither conceivable nor describable, but require to be seen.

We have nothing to do here with modern Rome, and have therefore not referred to St. Peter's, which, Gibbon says, is "the most glorious structure that has ever been applied to the use of religion;" the Vatican, which has long been celebrated for its unrivalled splendour and magnificence; or the other various palaces and noblemen's houses, which are more splendid than such buildings usually are in other cities. Of ancient Rome the most populous part is now but a landscape, the city of the present day resting almost entirely on a different base. We have the seven

hills on which the eternal city stood, but the Rome of to-day has slipped down from those hills to the plain below. The Tarpeian rock is now a savage and solitary thicket; the hill of the Capitol defaced, and its Path of Victory obliterated; while all around lie scattered the remains of gigantic edifices which fill the mind with wonder by their size, simplicity, grace, and the remarkable beauty of their proportions.

The only other Italian cities that need be here referred to are Pompeii and Herculaneum, which stood in the neighbourhood of modern Naples, and were destroyed by an earthquake accompanied by an irruption of the Vesuvius, in A.D. 79. Herculaneum was buried by lava, and nothing was known of it for a long time; but Pompeii having been covered by loose mud, pumice stones, and ashes, was sooner extricated. The excavations since made have discovered in Herculaneum the remains of a theatre and of a few private houses, with many pettier relics in the shape of bas-reliefs and sculptures; while out of a bed of ashes eighteen feet deep the whole skeleton of Pompeii has been disinterred.

At the time of its destruction Pompeii was a Roman colony, and all the ruins excavated are of the Roman period. The city was elliptical in shape, and of small size, having a circuit of not more than two miles. It was walled on all sides, and a great portion of the walls can be traced, five of the gates also being visible. Among the houses disinterred are a forum, two theatres, an arena, some temples, and a prison, besides some eighty private houses, all of small dimensions and generally one storied, though some are of two stories, the second story being however in no case as conveniently made as the first, which seems to indicate that it was mainly used for minor domestic purposes. These private buildings stand quite contiguous to each other, as houses of modern times; and each has a court, with a marble cistern in the centre, while the principal rooms are in the rear. The pavements generally are of mosaic, the walls are stained with agreeable colours, and the decorations are

bas-reliefs in stucco and paintings is medallion. The streets are narrow, but paved with pieces of lava dovetailed into each other; and they have on each side a footpath guarded by curbstones, to prevent the encroachment of chariots.

The remains of Pompeii are mainly interesting as exhibiting, not a detached temple, or a broken arch, or an isolated colonnade, as we see on other sites of antiquity, but a whole city with all its private houses, which we find nowhere else among the ancient ruins, untouched and unaltered as it stood eighteen hundred years ago.

The ruins in Greece and Rome exhibit some peculiar architectural characteristics which deserve to be noted. One of the most prominent of these is that all the best edifices in both countries were built on rocky eminences; another that, as a rule, they were built of stone, and not of brick or clay; a third, that the profusion of ornaments and singularities which marked the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Persian models was sedulously ignored. We find, in fact, the primary elements of architecture assuming in Greek and Roman hands a purer form, and an entireness of purpose and design mainly sought for in preference to mere outward decorations. This gave to the styles introduced an air of originality, which almost justified the assumption of their devisers that they did not imitate or borrow their ideas from the nations that had preceded them. They did borrow; they owed every thing in fact to borrowing: but they borrowed with such considerable modifications as stamped on every importation their own physiognomy and character. Even their taste in the art was an importation: they had very little of it before their knowledge of Asia.

The Greeks did not apply themselves seriously to architecture till long after the Trojan war. Of the previous period the best architectural specimens are those represented by the ruins at Mycenæ, which speak of colossal and massive buildings the rudeness of which had not yet

been qualified. The Ionians subsequently came in contact with nations better advanced in civilisation and the arts, and communicated what they acquired to the parent race. The country of the Ionians was covered with forests, and stones suitable for buildings were also to be found in it in abundance. They had everything in their favour therefore to help them in beating out the Asiatics they imitated in the race, and after them the energetic and hardy Greeks gave to the model a further development and modification which made their style entirely their own. There was wood as well as stone available in Ionia, and the Ionians made use of both in the edifices they reared; but Greece had no wood to speak of, while stone of rare beauty was to be had in it in profusion. The Ionian copy was necessarily departed from to the extent the advantage in materials permitted. There was no more building with perishable substances; and this immense advantage forced in a manner the development of taste.

The Roman architecture was Etruscan in origin, but taste for art was imported from Greece. Not yet satisfied the Romans sat down to collect works of art from other countries, notably from Egypt, and then attempted to unite the Greek, Egyptian, and Asiatic fashions together, and having succeeded in harmonizing them, stamped the compound with the Roman stamp. During the republican period Rome had scarcely any leisure to think of the arts. The conquest of Etruria and Greece produced the wish to imitate those countries. But the style was not matured till the Augustan age, in or after which all the great buildings of Rome were raised. Taste and elegance do not appear to as great advantage in Rome as in Greece; but, on the other hand, vastness and variety of design were better developed in it. The Greeks had no taste for vastness, which by centring the attention on parts diverts it from the unity of the plan, which no Greek connoisseur could tolerate. Hellas has therefore no such public edifices as Nineveh, no such temples as Thebes. But the taste of

Rome did not ignore size, for it was formed with the Egyptian model in sight, and we have in the Coliseum as large a building as the mind of man was ever able to conceive anywhere out of Egypt, it being nearly twice as much in area as the temple at Uksor, and only about one-fourth less than the temple at Kárnak.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ANCIENT CITIES AND CAVE-TEMPLES OF INDIA.

We must go back now to notice the relics to be seen in two very ancient countries of Asia to which we have not hitherto especially referred, namely, India and China, one of which still retains a great part of its antique character which gives it almost a peculiar aspect, while the other is being resuscitated by English rule from the prostrate condition to which the anarchy and confusion of Moslem sovereignty had reduced it. We have observed elsewhere the estimation in which the other ancient nations held India in the past, and if China did not occupy as important a position in the foreground it was only on account of her geographical position which made her less known. Both the countries were very old, as old, in fact, as Assyria and Egypt; and it is clear from their architectural remains that, like Assyria and Egypt, they were both inhabited anciently by an enterprising race of men who erected stupendous edifices, scooped out caverns in the bosom of the rocks, and raised magnificent arches and temples in places almost inaccessible to man. The caverns of Elephantá, Salsette, and Ellorá in India, and the Great Wall of China are monuments scarcely less marvellous in their way than the towers of Babylon and the pyramids at Gizeh.

The great cities of ancient India were Hastinápore, Indraprastha, Ayodhyá, Kanouj, Mathoorá, Prayága, and Benáres, of which the last only is still noteworthy and requires to be described. The name of Benáres is usually explained as a compound of two names, Barána and Asi, the names of two rivers severally flowing into the Ganges to the north and south of the city, of which they formed the natural boundaries in those directions. The present

city is not exactly bounded by them, being almost half a mile distant from the first, while the second meanders through it as a small rivulet, having been crossed over by the extension of the city-limit on the south; but this does not disprove the supposition that the Benáres of former times did occupy the area lying between the two rivers. Another derivation of the name is from Ráját Banár, who was one of the ancient kings of the city. The name, however, by which the city is best known to the natives is Káshi, and to this also two derivations are given, namely, one from Kásha, a descendant of Áyus, or, as some will have it, from Káshiya, the son of Kásha, and another from the Sanskrit word "Káshi," meaning splendid, which perhaps best expressed the character of the city. This second name occurs in several of the ancient Hindu books, namely, the *Puráṇs*, the *Satapatha Bráhmana*, and the *Upanishads*; a clear proof that the city existed before those records, and was necessarily very ancient.

The history of Benáres is to a great extent the history of India, for it is the history of her religion. Vedism had its birth on the banks of the Sapta Sindhava; but the original seat of Buddhism, which followed in the wake of Vedism, was at Sarnáth, which lies about three miles north of the Baraná river. If this place ever formed a part of the old city the supposition that the Baraná formed its northern boundary falls to the ground, except with the qualification that that probably was the extent of the city at a subsequent period when the name of Benáres was acquired. Be that as it may, Sarnáth was in the ascendant when Buddhism was the paramount religion, not only of Benáres, but of all India, but this arrangement not being to the liking of the Bráhmans, they sat down alongside of the Buddhas to fabricate the *Puráns*, and madè Pouránism the paramount religion by a continuous struggle which terminated with the destruction of Sarnáth. Which, then, is the most ancient portion of the holy city we have to describe? Not that which exhibits the wonderful mass of lofty towers close packed and scarcely separated by narrow

streets, which strikes the observer so vividly from the opposite bank of the Ganges, but that beyond the Baráua, which exhibits the remains of two Buddhistic towers, one larger than the other, lying about half a mile apart from each other, on a plain thickly scattered over with a vast amount of broken bricks. Counting from the time of Sákya, the historical Buddha, Benáres has an antiquity of about two thousand and five hundred years; but its actual age goes back further, perhaps by another thousand years. Sákya proceeded to Sarnáth from Gyáh, and he went, we read, to the Isapattana Vihára, the chief monastery then existing at Sarnáth. It is simply absurd, therefore, to date the commencement of Buddhism with Sákya: it is doubtful if Benáres started into existence much later than Babylon and Nineveh. Babylon and Nineveh exist now in name only. Benáres is still a living city, in the full possession of vigour and vitality.

Sarnáth was in existence from the first age of Buddhism, and was a flourishing place at the time of Sákya; but of the buildings of that era, no remains exist. Some of the ruins now seen are, nevertheless, more than three centuries older than the Christian era, dating from the time of Asoka, or Priyadarsi. Of this character are the great tower called Dhámek, or Vihára, and the second tower called Chánkandi, both of which are believed to have been raised by Asoka. The great tower was divided into eight parts, and was surrounded by a wall enclosing an extensive area, within which were several rows of pillars, two stone palaces, and the smaller tower or monastery, with some other monasteries of lesser note. A good many of these buildings appear to have been raised by Sthira Pál and Basanta Pál, brother-princes of Bengal, and an inscription to this effect has been found in one of the towers excavated. It is doubtful, however, whether they erected the towers or merely added an outer casing to more ancient buildings. The other Buddhistic remains are at Bakáriyá Koond, the north-west corner of Benáres, and these also are very old; the most remarkable of them being a temple to which the Maho-

medans have capped a dome, appropriating it as a mausoleum. The dome stands on forty-two pillars, which are all in good order. Of the other really ancient remains some are in the interior of the fort at Rájghát, others in its neighbourhood, while one remarkable ridge or mound runs inward from the mouth of the Baráná, and is believed to represent one of the boundary walls of the old city. All these vestiges are very unimposing in appearance, which may be accepted as a proof of their great age.

The Pouránism of Káshi is vindicated by the mass of religious edifices in the present city, notwithstanding the tyranny and desecration of the Mahomedan rulers of India, who signalized themselves from time to time by the wholesale destruction of idols and temples, appropriating such of the latter to their own use as they were not able to break down. This was the unvarying tale from the time of Máhmood of Ghazni to that of Aurungzebe, and hence we see all the buildings of acknowledged antiquity in the city converted into mausoleums and *durgáhs*. The Hindu temples are mostly of modern date, though many of them have the reputation of occupying the sites of older shrines.

The present city of Benáres is not a very large one, being only about three miles long and one mile broad, which gives it a circuit of eight miles. The natives contend that the real or sacred boundary of Káshi is the Pánchkosi road, the length of which is about fifty miles, the city standing to the extreme east of it. It is called *Pánchkosi* because it is never at any point more distant from Benáres than five *kos*, or ten miles. On the river-bank the city is lined entirely with stone, and rises in the form of an amphitheatre, surrounded by domes and minarets. There are many fine *ghâts*, or landing-places, built of large stones, and some of them are highly ornamented. The streets of the city are narrow, but have, what is uncommon in the East, an underground drainage: only one or two of them are wide enough for the passage of wheeled carriages. The houses on the roadside are richly embellished with verandáhs, galleries, projecting

oriel windows, and broad overhanging eaves supported by carved brackets. They are all built of Chunár stones, and are very high, some being five and six storied; and they all stand very close to each other, and have remarkably small windows. The fronts of the houses are covered with mythological figures, which has given rise to the saying that the number of divinities in Káshi is greater than the number of its inhabitants.

The temples are very numerous, but they are for the most part small in size, smaller than Hindu temples in other places. The reason of this is that the Mahomedan emperors did not permit the Hindus to erect temples in Káshi rising beyond a certain height, lest their own mosques and mausoleums should appear to disadvantage; and, later, this short size became fashionable. It contrasts strangely with the height of some of the private buildings, all of which are, in their turn, outtopped by the minarets of the Mahomedans.

The first temple to notice is that of Visheshwara, which is sacred to Mahádeva as represented by his *Lingam*, the principal object of worship at Benáres. The temple is situated in the midst of a quadrangle covered with a roof, above which uprises the tower belonging to it. At each corner is a dome, and at the south-east corner stands a second temple dedicated to Siva. The three most remarkable appendages of the building are the gilded tower, a gilded dome, and a high-ascending spire. The first two look like burnished gold, but in reality the plates covering them are of copper covered with gold-leaf. Beyond the enclosure to the north is a large collection of deities raised on a platform. These are for the most part very ancient relics, taken from the ruins of the original temple of Visheshwara, which Aurungzebe is said to have destroyed. The site of that temple is not very precisely known, but it is generally held to be identical with that occupied by the mosque of Aurungzebe, which stands immediately to the north-west of the present temple. Between the mosque and the temple is a famous well, called *Gyan Koop*, or

the "Well of Knowledge," within which the god Siva resides. It was in this well that the *Lingam* was secreted by the Bráhmans when their old temple was demolished.

At a short distance from the temple of Visheshwara is the temple of Annapoorna, who is supposed to look after the feeding of the inhabitants. The present temple of the goddess is about one hundred and fifty years old. It possesses a tower and a dome, the latter sustained by pillars, and carved and ornamented within. The carved portions were originally painted, but the painting in the interstices is only now visible. The corners of the quadrangle are dedicated severally to the Sun, to Gouri Sancara, to Hanumán, and to Ganesa. Another temple of importance is that of Bhaironáth, which is upwards of a mile north to that of Visheshwara. This deity is deputy-in-chief to Visheshwara, and preserves the city from the depredations of evil spirits. He is armed with an enormous *danda,* or stick. The temple is situated in the midst of a quadrangle, and has a beautifully carved spire. The interior of the building is a small room, having on one side of it a shrine made of copper, which is the habitation of the god. In the Bengali Tolá of the city is the temple of Kedáreshwara, a large building standing in the middle of a spacious court, with four smaller temples at the four corners of it. The principal temple is surmounted by a dome, and at the door of it stand two figures beautifully executed to represent the doorkeepers of the deity. Kedáreshwara himself is only a stone emblem of the *Lingam.*

Some of the *ghâts* of Benáres are almost as sacred as its temples; and of these the first in importance is the Manikarnika, which washes away the sins, past and to come, of all who bathe in it. The sacred bathing-tub is a small reservoir lined with flags of hewn stone, situated on the banks of the river. During the rise of the river it is filled with the water of the stream, besides which a puny springlet dribbles into the basin from the land side, and suffices to keep up a filthy puddle in it during the hottest season of the year. This semi-fluid is the purest cleanser of impu-

rity; but the *koond* is nevertheless not very crowded at all times, not on account of its filthiness, but because the ceremony of bathing once performed requires never to be repeated, a cautious provision of the Bráhmans, who were naturally averse to try the faith of their victims too often. Another very sacred *ghát* of Benáres is the Dasaswamedh ghát, where Bruhmá is said to have performed ten *aswamedh* sacrifices, for which it is regarded as the gateway of heaven.

The only other Hindu monument in Benáres important enough for a separate notice is the Mán Mandir, or Observatory, which was built by Mán Sing, and was provided with instruments by one of his descendants named Jaya Sing. This was one of five observatories completed by Jaya Sing, the other four being located respectively at Delhi, Mathoorá, Oujein, and Jeypore. Some of the instruments at the Benáres Observatory are of gigantic size, and are built of strong masonry capable of lasting for ages, and yet of such delicate adjustment that in certain respects they are nearly as serviceable now as when they were first made. One of them is a mural quadrant which consists of a wall 11 feet high and nine feet and one and one-quarter inch broad in the plane of the meridian. By this instrument the Sun's altitude and zenith distance at noon can be ascertained, and also his greatest declination and the latitude of the place. Not far distant from it are two large circles, one built of stone and the other of lime, and a large square built of stone, besides several smaller instruments. But neither the instruments nor the Observatory buildings have been kept in repair, and the consequence is that they are both fast falling into decay.

Almost all the architectural Hindu monuments now existing in Benáres were contributed by the Mahrattás in their days of glory; but several of them bear on their face the proofs of having been constructed with older materials. This is still oftener observable on the Mahomedan buildings, most of which are converted temples which have undergone extensive transformations. The best of all these

buildings is the mosque of Aurungzebe, which stands on the highest and most conspicuous point of land in the city and close to the river-side, on, as we have said, the site of the old temple of Visheshwara. The position was selected to mortify the Hindus. The building is a superb one, with exceedingly lofty minarets; but in the lower parts of it the vestiges of an older edifice are distinctly visible.

We have noticed Benáres at some length as being the most ancient and most important Hindu city in India. It has from time immemorial been the seat of piety and learning, is to this day the resort of all orthodox Hindus in the decline of life, as death in it is believed to secure immediate salvation, and, what is most important of all, has been for ages, and is even now, a noted centre of trade. It was at Benáres that the religion of Buddha was first developed, and it was there also that Pouránism was manufactured and expanded; and to this moment the form of religion chiefly prevailing in it is Pouránic, though the religion of the scholars is tinctured by Vedantism. But what has less changed even than its religion is the commercial character of the city, which is as marked now as it was two thousand years ago. Benáres has always been, and still is, the emporium for the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of the east, besides which it has a considerable manufacture of its own in silk, wool, and gold and silver lace; and this, even more than its religion, accounts for the long life the city has attained.

Of the other ancient cities of India, Hastinápore has entirely disappeared, the name of Indraprastha is only preserved in that of Indrapat, a small fort in Delhi, and the site of Prayága is occupied by Alláhábád, while of Kanouj, Ayodhyá, and Mathoorá some rubbish-heaps only are to be seen. Ayodhyá was apparently the most ancient of them all, and the poetry of Válmik has converted the capital of Dasarath into a veritable Utopia. "On the banks of the Saráyu," says the poet, "is a large country called Kosála, in which stood Ayodhyá, a city built by Menu, which was twelve *yojanas*, or forty-eight miles, in circumference. Its

streets were regular and well-watered; it was beautified with gardens, stately gates, and high porticos; and there were palaces in it whose domes resembled the mountain-tops, and private dwellings almost equal in elevation. The city was surrounded by an impassable moat, and the people in it were virtuous, regardful of their superiors and their gods." The description of the place by Ábul Fazl, in the Áyeen Akbári, is equally rhapsodical, and closes with the statement that by sifting the earth around the site grains of gold are yet obtained. In the *Mahábhárut*, Ayodhyá is said to have been the first regular imperial city of India, which position was retained by it for about fifteen hundred years. What now remains of the town is a shapeless heap of ruins on the banks of the Gográ, still much frequented by pilgrims, who walk round the big earthen mounds and the supposed site of temples, and bathe in the holy pools. The city of Lucknow is several miles distant from the site of Ayodhyá, but is, nevertheless, believed to have been a lodge of one of the gates of the ancient capital, no account of the extent of which is too extravagant for the orthodox Hindu to repudiate.

One of the princes of Ayodhyá went out of it to erect the city of Kanouj. Of this place it is said that it had a circumference of fifty *kos*, or a hundred miles, and was walled throughout; that it contained many lofty edifices and large temples built on the same plan as those of Ayodhyá; and that, in succession to the parent city, it was the metropolis of Northern India, and continued to be so till it was taken by the Mahomedans, in A.D. 1192. Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, saw the town in A.D. 634, and described it as being above eight miles in circuit, surrounded by strong walls and deep ditches, and washed by the Ganges in front. The ruins of the place even now are of much greater extent than those of Ayodhyá; but the only decipherable vestiges among them are those of a palace, some pillars of a temple which has been appropriated as a *Musjeed*, a large number of broken idols, and the traces of some broken walls. The condition of old Mathoorá is precisely the same. There are a great

number of lofty earthen mounds on the site, all covered with fragments of stone and brick; but nothing is known of them, and all that has been discovered by excavation are the fragments of temples, some inscriptions, and a number of idols.

We hardly know whether it is necessary to notice any of the cities of Mahomedan India in this place, and shall content ourselves by barely naming the two most important. During the era of its splendour Delhi covered an area of twenty square miles, and its ruins are very little less in extent at this day. Among the later buildings in it, and therefore in better preservation, are some mosques, the best of which is the Jummá Musjeed, which has been often described. It is built of granite and marble, and is very noticeable for its size. The cloisters and gateway are made of red sandstone, as is also a great portion of the mosque, while the domes, three in number, are of marble, and the minarets of marble and red stone. The materials are costly, the workmanship excellent, and the whole appearance of the building is imposing and grand. The imperial palace is the next building of importance. It is constructed of red stone, in a beautiful style of architecture, and the interior of it was at one time adorned with gold, azure, and other variegated ornaments. The stables were so extensive that they could accommodate ten thousand horses. In the suburbs of the city was a hall of assemblies lined throughout with crystal, and adorned with a lustre of black crystal which, on being lighted, gave to the apartment the appearance of being on fire. There was also a splendid garden named Shálimár, which is now in ruins. From the south of this garden as far as the eye can reach the view is covered by the wrecks of mosques, pavilions, and tombs. The ruins have been considerably augmented since the mutiny of 1857, when the avenging Briton destroyed some of the best edifices of the city after his own fashion, even platforms of marble being torn up for the precious stones with which they were unfortunately inlaid.

Of the Hindu remains yet seen in Delhi the most promi-

nent are two forts, one built by Anang Pál, the founder of the Tuár dynasty, and the other by Prithu Rái; the Iron Pillar, the *Musjeed*, in the court of which the pillar stands, and the Kuttub Minár. The first two are in a very dilapidated condition; the other three occupy the same quadrangle, and are often regarded as parts of one and the same building. The *Musjeed* is generally held to have been constructed by Kuttubudeen Ibek, but evidently stands on the site of a Hindu temple, of which the original platform has not been disturbed, and of which many pillars also have been appropriated. The Iron Pillar belonged to this temple, and the inscription on it says that it was dedicated to Vishnu. Bits of it having been analyzed both in India and England it has been found to be made of pure iron without alloy, and yet, though exposed for fourteen or fifteen centuries to wind and rain, it still remains unrusted, with the capitals and inscriptions exceedingly sharp and clear. Its size also reflects great credit on the artisans who forged it, for even in modern Europe a bar of iron so large could scarcely be modelled as well with ease. The Minár stands outside of the cloistered court of the *Musjeed*, and is independent of it, though the Mahomedans may have used it as a muezzin-tower for calling the faithful to prayer. It is situated on the south-east corner of the quadrangle, and is the most remarkable edifice in it. The erection of it is generally attributed to Kuttub and Altamsh; but there is evidence enough to show that it was in existence before the Mahomedan era, and was in complete repair when Prithu Rái occupied the throne of Delhi. The column is 240 feet high, and has four balconies sweeping round it at different heights from the ground. It has also an irregular spiral staircase leading to its summit, which is crowned by a superb cupola of red stone.

Ágrá was another capital of the Mahomedans. This city was the birth-place of Ábul Fazl, and has been eloquently described by him. The river Jumná runs through it for five *kos*, or ten miles, and on both sides of the stream are delightful houses and gardens. The city is in the

form of a vast crescent, commanded by a fortress which was erected by Sháh Jehán. Within the fortress is the imperial palace, which, like the city, is crescent-formed, and stands on the brink of the river, with a terrace reaching down to the water's edge. Its appearance is more picturesque than that of the Delhi palace ever was, though the latter had the reputation of being the more magnificent building. The square of the palace is adorned by six triumphal arches, which serve as the entrance to six noble streets, and along the façade of the building run two immense galleries adorned with twenty-four columns of white marble, springing from pedestals of blue granite and terminating in capitals of yellow mica. More remarkable even than the palace is the well-known Táj Mahal, or mausoleum raised by Sháh Jehán over the remains of his favourite wife, Mumtázá Begum,—a beautiful building of white marble, famous for its exquisite mosaics, noble dome, and graceful minárs, and forming altogether a piece of fairy architecture, and the most graceful and impressive sepulchre in the world. The tomb of the Begum stands on a terrace or platform, and has two wings, one of which is a mosque and the other the tomb of Sháh Jehán. The minarets are four in number, one at each corner of the terrace. The entrance to the gardens is by a grand gateway; and the long avenue of cypress and other trees, at the end of which the building stands, makes the *tout ensemble* perfectly unique. In the neighbourhood of Ágrá, at Futtehpore Sikri, is a fort of red stone erected by Akbar, the like of which no traveller has ever beheld anywhere. There are altogether some five hundred stone buildings in this fort, all of surprising construction, and decorated with exquisite paintings. At the eastern gate are carved two elephants with riders, the workmanship of which is much admired. The intellectual beauty of Greek ornamentation is not to be met with in any of the buildings described, but the inlaying with precious stones on grounds of pure white marble give them a charm peculiarly their own.

We now come to the oldest and best preserved remains of India, namely, the rock-hewn temples at Elephantá, Salsette, and Ellorá. Elephantá is so-called from a colossal statue of an elephant cut out of a detached mass of blackish rock unconnected with any structure below. Its native name is Gurhpoorá, or the fortress-city. The excavation is in an island having the same name, situated at the distance of about seven miles from Bombay. It consists of three parts, of which the centre is occupied by a great temple dedicated to Buddha, and the sides by two chapels sacred to Siva and Indra respectively. The extent of the cave from north to south is 130 feet, and from east to west 133. Twenty-six pillars, of which eight are broken, and sixteen pilasters support the roof, and seem to sustain the whole mountain which rises above it. Neither the floor nor the roof is in the same plain throughout, and consequently the height varies from 7½ feet in some parts to 15 in others. The pillars also vary in their size and decorations, though not sufficiently so to strike the eye. All the walls are covered with reliefs, generally in good proportion, and producing a rather pleasing effect. The reliefs on the walls are in some cases so high that they adhere to the main mass only by their backs. Many of them are of colossal dimensions and well executed.

Large excavations of the same kind are found in the neighbouring island of Salsette, especially at a place called Kanhári, near the centre of it. There is a Buddha temple here cut in the rock, with an arched roof, supported by two rows of octangular pillars, with capitals of elephant-caryatides. Horses and human figures are also represented on the capitals. The pillars, including the base and capitals, are about 14 feet high. At the extremity of the excavation is a cylindrical mass of stone surmounted by a cupola-formed top, all cut out of the solid rock. This stone is 23 feet high and 49 in circumference, and is supposed to cover the remains of Buddha. The dark winding avenues on every side bristle with statues and mythological

busts, which, originally carved by the Buddhists, have been so modified by the Bráhmans as to represent Bráhman gods and Bráhman history.

Ellorá is a town of the Deccan, near Dowlutábád, which is near the centre of India. About a mile west of the city is a chain of mountains of reddish granite, out of which the cave-temples are excavated. The mountains have an amphitheatre form, and are scooped out from top to bottom, and are filled with innumerable chambers. The circuit of the excavations is about two leagues, and includes numerous galleries and rows of pillars which support apartments lying one above another, with steps and porticos leading to them, and bridges of rock over canals hewn out of the stone. The chief temple is called Kailása, or the habitation of Mahádeva. It is the most wonderful of all the cave-temples in the world, and is unlike others generally in this, that the rock has been cut away both externally and internally, so that it looks as complete as if it had been erected on a plain. Its ante-chamber is 138 feet wide by 88 long, and has many rows of pillars and adjoining chambers. The great portico comes next, and leads over a bridge into a huge chamber, 247 feet long and 150 broad, in the middle of which the chief temple stands. The temple is 103 feet long by 56 wide, and has a height of 100 feet in pyramidal form. It is hollowed out to the height of 17 feet, is supported by four rows of pillars with colossal elephants, and is covered with sculptures. Among the other divisions of the excavation is an upper-storied temple for the *avatárs* of Vishnu, the roof of which is supported by 64 square-based pillars, eight in each row; in another direction are to be seen the figures of Indra and his wife; and all over the excavation are figures and symbols of Hindu worship, though there are others also which resemble objects of Buddha veneration. The number of excavated figures is altogether very large, and the figures are executed, rudely indeed, but all in the boldest style. Tradition ascribes the excavations to Viswákarmá, the divine architect, and one of the chief temples bears his

name. They are all quite in Egyptian style and dimensions, and are justly regarded among the most marvellous works executed by man. Light is admitted into each excavation at its entrance, and carried into the inner compartments by means of great arches or windows; and the deepening gloom adds greatly to the sublimity of their character.

Besides the remains named above there are several others scattered all over India, which we cannot notice in detail. One of these is the gigantic temple at Chillumbaram, which is perhaps the highest of all buildings in India now extant. The great pagodá at Tanjore, the finest pyramidal temple in India, is another, and this also is very high, rising to an elevation of about 200 feet. There is a third Hindu temple of very Egyptian appearance near Mahábálipooram, on the Coromandel coast, which seems to have had six other associate temples which have gone down into the sea.

The monuments which mark Indian civilisation are, we have seen, mainly of two kinds: (1) constructed temples and other buildings similar to those existing in other places, and (2) rock-chambers, of which some are subterraneous, while others are hewn on the surface of the rocks, or are partly underground and partly superficial. Of the former it may generally be said that they greatly resemble the Egyptian buildings in character, particularly in respect to courts with pillars and cloisters, and, so far as Southern India is concerned, also in size. The temples in Northern and Central India are smaller in dimensions for the reason already mentioned, namely, the intolerance of the Mahomedan emperors, who did not allow the Hindus to erect religious edifices large enough to rival their mosques; but as specimens of beauty and completeness they are as good as any to be seen elsewhere. Unfortunately, the climate of India bears no resemblance to that of Egypt and is as unfavourable to the preservation of masonry works as the other is friendly to it; and this mainly accounts for the scantiness of the Hindu ruins. The oldest remains now seen are of the latest Buddha period, namely, that of Asoka,

which preceded the Christian era by three hundred years: but they are seen in a scarcely recognisable condition. Of the Bráhman period which succeeded it the remains were yet in a state of preservation when the Mahomedans entered the country, which led to their being unhesitatingly appropriated by the conquerors. They found a ready-made civilisation among the conquered, and not only took possession of the palpable trophies of that civilisation, but also availed themselves of the civilisation itself to erect other trophies on their own account. Except in design, almost all the Mahomedan buildings in the country represent the proficiency and aptitude of the Hindu, not of the Mahomedan architect, though, of course, the Mahomedans learnt the art from their Hindu teachers in course of time.

What the Mahomedans did not appropriate to their own use were the rock-temples we have noticed, which still bear a thoroughly orthodox character, exhibiting no admixture but of Buddha and Bráhman designs. They were originally excavated by the Buddhas and afterwards converted by the Bráhmans to their own use; but, further conversion being impracticable, they were left undisturbed by the Mahomedans. The result is extremely satisfactory. All these temples bear positive proofs, not only of having been excavated by the original inhabitants of the country, but also of representing their old orthodox beliefs; there is no trace whatever in them of foreign art: and it is fortunate that such relics have come down to present times. Being excavations they are necessarily more lasting than erected buildings; and the country has thus the most durable of her old memorials yet to exhibit. Of course, as evidences of perseverance and art they are of less value than erected buildings, for while the one involves only the trouble of chipping and removing, the other necessitates first, the quarrying of stones, and then, the setting up of them into edifices: but it must not be forgotten that the rocks out of which the cave-temples of India have been hewn are very hard, and that the temples therefore represent a much larger application of time, labour, and perseverance than

similar excavations in other places. Some of them also bear in their ornaments evidences of great taste, though of a rather fantastic character; and they altogether prove very clearly the existence of a large amount of civilisation among the inhabitants at the time when they were made. Taste and delicacy are doubtless seen to greater advantage in the later works to which we have referred; but they were matured from the beginnings which the cave-temples exhibit. It was maintained for a long time that the Táj and other important Mahomedan buildings were constructed under foreign superintendence. But this has since been disproved by the names of the architects having, in several instances, been traced. Even if such proofs were wanting, the fact that great architects existed in the country long anterior to the Mahomedan era, capable of designing and completing the best edifices that are to be found in it, was never doubtful. The interval between the rock-temples and the Táj is not greater than that between the rock-hewn caves of Athens and the Parthenon.

Among the other remarkable constructions in India are the *ghâts*, which are almost peculiar to the country, or rather to a particular part of the country, namely, that extending from Calcuttá to Hurdwár. The best specimens of these buildings are to be seen at Benáres, but they are numerous everywhere throughout the entire length of the Ganges, while, as regards other streams generally, it may be said that there is scarcely any in Upper India which has not at every turn of it a flight of steps leading to the water-side. The reason is obvious. There is no people on the face of the earth so cleanly in their habits as the Hindus, which naturally induced them to associate water with every act of purification; and the kings and princes of the country delighted to make water easily accessible to all. The Hindus were contemned by their Mahomedan conquerors we can hardly say that they are better regarded by their present rulers: but there are many features in their character exceedingly pleasing, and one of the most prominent of these is their almost childish

fondness for ablutions. "*Áppa Náráyana*"—Water is God—is an article of their faith, and the *ghâts* make the deity easily approachable both for adoration and use.

The chief feature of the old buildings in India is their religious character. The country is full of temples and *ghâts*, and of temples and *ghâts* only. The reason of this is that the Hindus were, from very early times, a commercial people, and in the Old World commerce was everywhere allied with religion. The internal commerce of India was very considerable, but we do not read of caravan-travelling through the country, a proof that it was well-settled and well-governed. The external commerce was yet greater, the products of India being in high request throughout the Western world. This commerce was the offspring solely of native industry, which was wisely and materially fostered by religion, the object of the temples and *ghâts*, and the festivals celebrated in their neighbourhood, being to bring together the produce of the surrounding territory to a well-crowded market. This even now is the primary aim of every *melá*, or religious gathering, held in the country, and was so in a much higher degree in the past. It imparts to idolatry and superstition the only interesting features in their character.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANCIENT CITIES AND GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

We do not know much of China yet, but this at least is generally understood, that the country is a very ancient one, and was very early civilised. As the civilisation attained by it has been continuously maintained we have not many ruins there to examine, and as it has never passed beyond a certain limit the present of the country may well be accepted as an accurate reflection of its past. The picture exhibited by the present is altogether lively and pleasing, and the glimpses seen of the past do not belie that representation to any great extent.

The most important place in China to notice is Peking, which is known to the Chinese as a very ancient city, though the seat of empire was not removed to it till the time of Kublai Khán. It stands on a vast fertile plain fifty miles to the south of the Great Wall, and twelve miles distant from the Peiho river, a tributary of which supplies the town with water. The Chinese pronounce the name Pai-ching, so that Peking is only an approximation to correctness and not the exact name of the place. The plan of the city is shaped like a square placed alongside of a parallelogram, the square representing the Tartar city, which is called Nuiching, and the parallelogram the Chinese city, which is called Waiching, the former being the newer and more aristocratic portion of the capital. The whole city is walled, the walls of the Tartar city aggregating sixteen miles and the walls of the Chinese city nine and a half miles, after omitting the partition which separates the two cities from each other, and this gives to the entire place a total circumference of about twenty-five miles. The

height of the walls is 30 feet, and their breadth 20 at the base, but sloping upwards so as to be 12 only at the top. Each wall is in reality a mound of earth or rubbish encased by brick. Besides its walls Peking is usually represented as being encompassed by a wet ditch; but in reality there is no ditch at all places. The walls are surrounded by turrets standing within bowshot distance of each other. The Tartar city has nine gates, which are lofty and well-arched—namely, three on the south side, which communicate with and are common to the Chinese city, and two on every other side. The Chinese city has seven gates besides—namely, two on the north apart from those belonging to the Tartar city, three on the south, one on the east, and one on the west.

The Tartar city consists of three enclosures, one within another. The innermost enclosure is called Kinching, or the "Forbidden City," and has the shape of an oblong parallelogram of about two miles, indicated by a wall 30 feet high, which is built of polished red bricks and surrounded by a ditch lined with hewn stone. The top of the wall is covered with varnished tiles of a brilliant yellow colour, which from a distance looks like gold. In this quarter of the city are situated the imperial palaces and pleasure-grounds, and the abodes of the different members of the imperial household. All the structures are of the best materials, and are the best-built in China; and the most important and best-built among them are the emperor's residence called the "Tranquil Palace of Heaven," and the empress's pleasure-ground called the "Earth's Repose." The architecture of China has no resemblance to that of the countries we have noticed, and, as a rule, is fantastical in design and tawdry in decorations; but the imperial buildings are nevertheless said to be strikingly beautiful, and their pavilion-roofs give them a pleasing appearance, which is heightened by the colouring of the tiles that cover them. The ground all through the innermost city is artificially raised and diversely decorated, the best of the decorations being those to be seen in the flower-

garden of the empress, which is magnificent. Besides the edifices referred to, there are two public halls in this part of the city, which are incrusted with white marble and ornamented with balustrades of excellent workmanship, and a fine marble gateway 110 feet high, ascended by five flights of stairs, on which elevation the emperor takes his stand when receiving the homage of his mandarins.

Outside of the "Forbidden City" is the second enclosure called Hwang Ching, or the "Imperial City," which is not so sacred as the forbidden city, but yet not accessible to all. It is surrounded by a wall 20 feet high, and contains numerous temples and palaces of great size, and four big gates. In the northern part of this enclosure is an artificial hill situated directly north of the imperial palace within the first enclosure, with which it communicates by a distinct gateway. The elevation of the hill is 150 feet, and it is planted and laid out in shady walks. In the western part of the city is an artificial lake more than a mile in length and one eighth of a mile in breadth; and this is crossed by a bridge of nine arches built of white marble, and is interspersed with small islands. In this division of the city are the houses of the Chinese merchants, all of them one-storied, but otherwise as convenient almost as those of the mandarins. The main reason for the private houses being low is the frequency of earthquakes in Peking. The materials of which they are built are also, for the same cause, not very strong or durable, being nothing more, in fact, than half-burnt bricks, clay, and wood. The third enclosure of the city is occupied by tradesmen and shopkeepers. It is particularly remarkable for some large sheets of water in it, and for its gardens for the growth of vegetables. The main object held in view in all the capital cities of the ancient world was to make them in every respect self-sustaining in times of war; and Peking at a pinch can even now raise a large stock of grains and vegetables to feed its inhabitants.

Observed from outside, the town presents a singular uniformity of appearance—one vast surface of pavilion-

roofs interspersed with trees, the same being broken by the emperor's palace, a Llama temple near it, and the artificial hill to which we have referred. The trees within Peking are so numerous that at some seasons of the year the city looks from beyond the walls as completely shrouded in foliage; but, when the trees shed their leaves, the appearance is not quite so pleasing. The roofs of all the more important edifices in the city are painted yellow, red, or green; but this play of colours is not very agreeable to look at. Inside the city the streets are found to be straight, wide-avenued, and clean, and, though not paved, they do not become muddy and impassable except in very bad weather. The shop-fronts and the fronts of most of the houses are remarkable for their latticed woodwork, which gives them a light and airy appearance. To the west and north-west of the city are several extensive gardens—the suburban residences of the emperor and his officers of state—and these are eminently beautiful.

The Chinese city is in all respects inferior to the Tartar city, and between the two there is a ditch which can be filled with water whenever their total separation may be deemed necessary. The area of the Chinese city is about equal to that of the Tartar city; but a very considerable portion of it is occupied by the immense courts of the temples of "Heaven" and "Agriculture." Besides those temples there is almost nothing in this division of the city to note, it being very much like the outer enclosure of the Tartar city to which we have referred. The private houses in it are generally small; but very little room is needed for the accommodation of a Chinese family. Both the temples named are of great sanctity, and are frequently visited by the emperor. There are several other temples also in the suburbs of the Tartar city in every direction—among which are the temple of the "Rising Sun," the temple to the "Earth," the great "Llama temple," the temple of the "Great Bell," the temple of the "Moon," &c. The Chinese are usually held to be rather indifferent to their religion, being not unoften described as a race of freethinkers. Their temples are,

nevertheless, many in number, and high-storied, though not very well built. There are thirty-three of them in and around Peking, and the people congregate thickly in them—perhaps not to worship, but still to witness the sacrifices and theatrical representations performed in them. The emperor is the high-priest, and worships for the people, and the people muster strongly to see how the worshipping gets on. The temples are, besides, the places of fashionable resort during the hot weather, and the higher classes take apartments in them for short intervals, which gives them change of air and scenery, and general recreation. One other noticeable structure in the suburbs of the capital is the Observatory, which stands on the south-east corner of the Tartar city. It contains two fine sets of astronomical circles, the one an astrolabe, the other an armillary sphere on beautifully-cast bronze stands. The instruments are altogether eight in number, and bear good evidence on behalf of the self-acquired scientific knowledge of the Chinese.

Peking, though an ancient city, survives as the metropolis of an existing empire, and has no ancient appearance about it, but rather a freshness that scarcely accords with its reputed age. We pass on from it, therefore, to notice Nanking, which was the original residence of the emperors till the Tartars obliged the removal of the court towards the northern limit of the empire; and some very ancient vestiges of the past are here yet to be seen. The word *Peking* signifies the "Northern Court," and the word *Nanking* the "Southern Court;" and the southern was the original court till the thirteenth century, or the age of Kublai Khán and Yoonglo, the latter of whom finally abandoned it. All accounts make it one of the most beautiful and flourishing cities of the ancient world, celebrated alike for its extent, buildings, and manufactures. Its circumference was about thirty-five miles, so that it was much larger in area than Peking; but, unlike Peking and other Chinese cities generally, it was of an irregular shape, the mountains within its circumference preventing its being built upon a regular plan.

It is impossible to say now how much of the larger area claimed for it was actually occupied. It had a magnificent palace and several temples, no traces of which remain; but, even if it had been as closely built as Peking is, still would one-half of the city have remained unoccupied. The only existing monuments of the past in it are an Observatory, which is in a very neglected state, the imperial tombs, of which the remains can hardly be understood, and some remarkable sepulchral statues of gigantic size, which mark the site of the tombs. At some distance from the statues are also colossal figures of horses, elephants, and other animals ready-caparisoned and awaiting the requisition of their dead masters, in the event of their asking for them.

The circumference of the present city is about twenty miles, and one-half of the area is well-inhabited. Nanking is still a commercial city of note, and is yet more celebrated as a literary city—the seat of Chinese arts and sciences. It is much liked also for its centrical position, and yet more for its fine climate; and all these causes together have kept up the standing of the city as the second in the empire. Its streets are not so broad as those of Peking, but they are well-paved. The houses are one-storied and low; the gates are very beautiful; and there are some remarkable pagodás in the city, of which one, which is almost five hundred years old, deserves to be described. This is the famous porcelain tower of Nanking, which is superior to anything of the kind in China. It is of an octagonal form, with sides 15 feet wide, and an elevation of about 238 feet. The foundation is solid brickwork 10 feet high, from which a flight of twelve steps leads into the tower, which contains a spiral staircase running up to the summit. The body of the edifice is composed of brick, the outer face being covered with a coating of glazed porcelain of various colours. The height is divided into nine stories, decreasing gradually in size to the top; and after each story is a projecting roof covered with green tiles, with a bell suspended from every corner. Each story forms a saloon, which is finely painted and gilt, and adorned with gilded images. The whole is covered by a

gilt conical roof, from which there rises an iron mast 30 feet high, surmounted by a large gilded ball, which has eight iron coils depending from it, with nine bells attached to each. It is not, however, on account of its dimensions or its bells that the tower has become so famous, but for the coating of porcelain to which we have referred, which produces a brilliancy of effect that can scarcely be conceived.

Among the other great monuments of China is the Grand Canal, called Yunlo, or the Transit river, a stupendous work, passing through the extensive plain stretching from Peking to Hanchoo. It is altogether about eight hundred miles long, and connects in its course the two great rivers, the Hoang-Ho and the Yangtse-Kiang, at a point where they are one hundred miles apart. Its excavation was commenced in the twelfth century, but appears not to have been completed till the fourteenth, the work having been pushed on with particular vigour during the reign of Kublai Khán, who was very anxious to make Peking, the capital of his choice, accessible to the products of the south. A work of this character, it has been well observed, could have been made only by the Chinese, whose mechanical skill and patient industry it is not possible to surpass.

Of this patience and skill the greatest monument, perhaps, is the Great Wall, the most ancient memorial of China, which has justly been counted among the wonders of the world. It is called Wan-li-Ching, or the thousand *li* wall, and was commenced by Che-Hwangté, in B.C. 246; so that the more ancient parts of it are now more than two thousand and one hundred years old. It traverses the whole length from Shensé to the Yellow Sea, or a distance of about fifteen hundred miles, passing over the tops of the highest mountains, which appear to be almost inaccessible, and then descending into the deepmost valleys, and crossing wide rivers by means of strong substantial arches. The thickness of the wall at the base is 25 feet, diminishing to 15 at the top, the body of it consisting of an earthen mound retained on each side by walls of masonry and brick, terraced by a platform of square bricks. The foun-

dations and corners are of granite; but the casing throughout is of blue bricks cemented with pure white mortar. The height of the wall varies at different places according to the nature of the ground, the average height being about 25 feet. It is surmounted by square towers not more than a hundred paces apart from each other, and these are generally 38, and at some points 48 feet high. Towards the western extremity a great part of the wall, perhaps the most ancient, is only a mound of earth or gravel about 15 feet high, strengthened with occasional towers of brick. The country over which the entire rampart is carried is in several parts extremely wild and hilly, but all difficulties are surmounted with imperturbable industry. In some places, to protect exposed passages, the wall is doubled and trebled, and near the pass-gates which lead through it into Mongolia, the fortifications are very imposing in appearance. The look of the whole work is grand and striking, particularly where it takes the form of terraces on the mountain-slopes, with a mass of lofty scenery closing on the view. Labour immense must have been expended over every part of this extensive and wonderful structure; but the end which it was intended to secure, namely, the protection of China from foreign invaders, was never fully attained.

The architecture of China is peculiar, but very remarkable in its way. The great works of the country are, some of them, of considerable magnitude, but wholly devoid of design and ornament. The people seem to have been eminently utilitarian from the earliest times; their land is full of canals, bridges, walls, and embankments; and they cut stone and granite as deftly almost as the Egyptians; but, as a rule, their works are more noteworthy for mass, extent, and usefulness than for art. The science of building seems to have been exceedingly well-understood by them; but a singular want of taste is equally perceptible everywhere, both among the old architectural specimens and the new. Almost the only ornamental buildings in the country are its seven and nine-storied towers, and its private

houses. Of the first we have described the best, which, like the Táj Mahal of India, was erected to commemorate female worth, having been dedicated as a House of Gratitude to an empress of the Ming family. The private houses are all well made, though fantastically decorated, and are extremely convenient; and the first-class dwellings are almost as good, though not either so large or so grand-looking, as the imperial palaces. The most remarkable peculiarity with all buildings in China is their pavilion-roofs, which some imagine to be a reminiscence of the Tartar tents of the people in the past, though the more probable cause for the adoption of the form is perhaps the climate of the country, the rains in it being very heavy, which renders a high central elevation necessary to carry down the water from the roofs quickly.

The evidences of civilisation in China are undeniable, even though that civilisation be of a rather humble and distorted character. It is pertinent, therefore, to ask how that civilisation was attained. Neither Greece, nor Rome, nor Persia was self-civilised; nor can any country of modern Europe lay claim to that distinction. But the Chinese, like the Egyptians and the Hindus, commenced the world without extraneous help, and, even more especially than the Egyptians and the Hindus, who may have copied from each other, attained what civilisation they can coast of by their own exertions. They have possessed for ages many very curious and useful branches of art, and have greatly excelled in them; but no one has helped them to them; they have not learnt them by imitation. Several of these arts have since been introduced into Europe; but the excellence of the Chinese, in some of them at least, has not yet been surpassed. Mechanical skill has been carried to perfection among them; their industry and ingenuity are unequalled. Their long bridges, great roads, and pyramidal towers are architectural and engineering evidences of this skill, industry, and ingenuity. They dig canals, form gardens, and level mountains, more patiently, perhaps, than any other nation. They are

also inimitable manufacturers of porcelain and bronze, excellent carvers in wood and ivory, very superior workmen with silk and cotton; and this, considering their peculiar position and exclusiveness, is certainly amazing. The fact is, they are able to adapt themselves to any and every condition of life, and always do so without hesitation. There is a strange union of the past and the present in their character, as in everything else about them, and, while wedded to the past ordinarily, they never flinch from accommodating themselves to the present whenever it is of service to them to do so. This is a very favourable trait in them to notice, and promises to carry them through as long a future as they have had of the past.

CHAPTER X.

THE RELICS OF ANCIENT CIVILISATION IN AMERICA.

On crossing the Pacific from China we find the vestiges of an ancient civilisation even in the wilds of America. In Mexico the Spaniards met with many temples and other buildings of gigantic size and magnificent make, the most remarkable of them being the temple of Teocálli, or God. This edifice, which was destroyed by the Spaniards, consisted of a truncated pyramid formed by five terraces ascended by a broad flight of steps. The sides of the pyramid faced the four cardinal points: its base was 318 feet each way, and its perpendicular height 121 feet. On the truncated top of the pyramid were placed the sacrificial stone and the statues of the Mexican gods, of which those of the Sun and Moon were of colossal dimensions, and covered with plates of gold. Around the main building was a wall of hewn stone, ornamented with knots of serpents in relief; and within the precincts of the wall were the dwellings of the priests.

Buildings of similar character were represented as existing throughout the country, and the capital itself was said to have had not less than eight temples almost equal in size to that of Teocálli, besides many others of inferior dimensions. In fact, Mexico, like Thebes and Benáres, was represented to be a city of temples. These accounts were, perhaps, not absolutely true; but, since the Spanish period, the remains of several ancient cities have been discovered in Central America in a state of extraordinary preservation, most of them resembling the edifices described by Spanish writers, particularly in their shape as truncated pyramids. Several of these cities are buried in the depths of forests without

any visible means of communication, and remained unknown till now even to the populations almost in their immediate neighbourhood. The remains found are, as in other parts of the world generally, nearly all of them of either temples or palaces. There are no relics of private dwelling-houses.

The ruins first to be noticed are those at Copan, on the banks of the Copan river, in Honduras, which, on the left bank, are visible to the extent of about two miles, the rest being lost in the depths of the forest. The most perfect of the remains are those of a temple situated on the right side, on the top of a mountain 2000 feet high, the wall on the river-bank being 624 feet long and from 60 to 90 high. The three other sides of the enclosure are formed by a succession of pyramidal structures and terraced walls, measuring from 30 to 40 feet in elevation. The river-side wall is built of large hewn stones, and is still in a good state of preservation; and it is accessible from the river by flights of steps. Similar flights of steps on the inner side lead down into the enclosed area, the pyramidal structures within which vary in height from 120 to 140 feet on the slope. All the sides of the terraced walls and pyramids are decorated with sculptures in bold relief, representing idols, death's heads, apes, and unintelligible hieroglyphics. At the foot of the pyramidal walls are stone columns or obelisks, some of which have human faces, male and female, sculptured on them. There is besides a group of stone idols within the enclosure having ludicrously hideous faces, but being otherwise so well executed as to be almost as good as the best specimens of Egyptian sculpture, though not equally well-finished.

The cities of Palenque, Uxmal, and Chichen exhibit remains in still better preservation than those at Copan. The ruins of Palenque are in the province of Chiapas, and are extensive, though their precise extent cannot be known, the surrounding country being, as that on the left bank of the Copan, covered with a forest of gigantic trees rendered

impenetrable by a dense underwood. The most interesting of the remains is called Cassas de Piedras, a palace of which five buildings are in good preservation. The largest stands on an oblong mound 310 feet long by 260 broad, and having an elevation of 40 feet. The building itself is 200 feet long by 180 broad, while the walls are 25 high. It is constructed of stone and mortar coated with stucco, and was originally painted, the marks of painting being visible in every place. It has fourteen doorways in front, the principal of which is approached by a flight of broad stone steps. In one of the courts is a tower built of stone, 30 feet square at the base and three stories high. There are several other buildings scattered around, but all much ruined. The rooms and corridors of the palace are decorated with sculptured bas-reliefs and stuccoed figures representing men with uncouth forms and faces, interspersed with tablets of hieroglyphics. The other buildings around it are of smaller dimensions, but otherwise resemble it both in architectural and ornamental designs.

The city of Uxmal is in Yucatan, and the best preserved ruins there consist of six extensive buildings and a large truncated pyramid not crowned with any edifice. Of the six buildings the most important one stands on a platform which rises in three terraces from the level plain, the sides of all being supported by substantial stone walls rounded at the angles. The edifice is approached by a flight of steps 130 feet wide, and the grandeur of the position and the magnificent size of the building, which is 360 feet long by 30 broad, and 19 high, are well illustrated by the richness of the architectural ornaments on the external walls. The beams of the building are of a very hard wood not procurable in the neighbouring forests. The other buildings are of smaller dimensions and decorated with greater simplicity. There are also two mysterious edifices in the place having no doorways or openings of any kind, and which on being broken into were found to be nothing but solid walls. Huge serpents form the leading feature of the sculptured

ornaments. There are several other structures, some of them very richly embellished; and towards the north-east is a vast range of terraces encumbered with ruins.

Chichen is another ruined city of Yucatan, the remains of which have an area of about two miles. The most beautiful edifice in it has been named the house of the Virgins of the Sun, and is 638 feet in circumference and 65 high. The height is divided into three ranges, of which the lowest is nothing but a solid mass of masonry, while the second range is the one most elaborately decorated. A grand staircase leads from terrace to terrace to the top of the building. The apartments are long, but not proportionately broad, and look more like corridors than rooms. The walls inside are covered with paintings, now much effaced, but in many places glowing with bright and vivid colours. There are also other buildings, some of which are peculiarly distinguished. In one of them, in a dark room, is a sculptured tablet representing a sitting figure supposed to be engaged in the performance of some mysterious rite, and around it are several rows of hieroglyphics. In another, a centrical corridor encircles a mass of solid stone, which forms as it were the axis of the building, but the meaning of which is not understood.

Besides remains of the above description ponds and wells have been discovered in the depths of the forests surrounding the ruined cities, which were at first believed to be original depressions of the soil, but which have since been found to be lined with masonry. These artificial reservoirs supplied the natural deficiencies of the land, which is almost destitute of water-courses. In the neighbourhood of a village named Balanchen is an extraordinary well, the descent to which is through the mouth of a rocky cavern down to a perpendicular depth of 450 feet, which is reached by a pathway in the rock 1400 feet in length, and at times so precipitous as to necessitate the use of ladders from 20 to 80 feet long, made of rough rounds of wood bound together with osiers. In some places there are also subter-

ranean chambers about five yards or so in diameter, to which access is gained by circular holes in the ground. The object of these apartments has not been understood. It is believed that they served as depositaries for maize, or Indian corn, which was in universal use among the natives before their connection with Europe. Another thing not understood is the significance of the print of a red hand, which is to be seen on the walls of many edifices in almost all the cities of Central America which have been explored. It is believed to be the symbol of strength, power, and mastery; but that is mere surmise.

The remains to be seen at Peru are of a very different character from those visible in Central America, but are equally big in size, and wonderful as memorials of art and civilisation. The oldest building at this place is called the house of Manco Capac, the first man of Peru, who appeared with a divine consort on the island of Coata in the Titicaca lake. It is difficult to fix approximately the date of any of the American buildings, but Manco's house has a peculiarly ancient appearance, the masonry being excessively rude and formed throughout of irregular polygonal blocks of stone. It contains a number of small square chambers lighted only from the doorway, and is surmounted by some upper chambers or towers. A better-made building, which, however, is inferior in masonry, is a two-storied edifice called the house of the Nuns, or Virgins of the Sun, which is nearly square in plan, and divided into twelve square rooms on the ground-floor and as many above them, all lighted through their doorways only, and some of them—namely, those that have no doorways externally—looking as dark as dungeons. A third notable building stands on the island of Coata, and is raised on five low terraces built entirely of rubble-stones. The walls of Cuzco, the ancient capital, are also remarkable, as exhibiting in their arrangement an intimate knowledge of fortification, and are composed of immense blocks of limestone beautifully fitted together.

Are these vestiges of civilisation, or of barbarism? They

certainly attest a stage of refinement which has not been attained in several parts of the world to this day. It is impossible to explain how the refinement was arrived at; but it may be safely concluded that it was not secured by imitation. The progress of early civilisation in the countries of Northern Europe is usually explained in the shape of stages, named respectively, the ages of stone, bronze, and iron; but the stage attained in America was apparently higher, much higher, than any the savages of Europe were ever able to reach. The Peruvian buildings resemble most the Etrurian remains in Italy; but the difference of time between the building eras in the two countries is in itself a proof that one style was not derived from the other. It may safely be concluded, then, that no part of the new world civilisation, such as it was, was borrowed from Europe; and its development differed so widely from the development of architectural progress in China, that it can be asserted with equal confidence that Asia did not furnish any models to the aborigines beyond the Pacific to go by. Because the ancient Central Americans happened to have built pyramids and engraved hieroglyphics on them, some writers have conjectured that their models were probably derived from Egypt; but this supposition has absolutely no foundation to rest upon, for no connection whatever can be traced between the Americans and the Egyptians, or any of the western races of Asia. Of the western Asiatics the Phœnicians only have the reputation of having proceeded far and wide into the boundless sea; but Heeran observes correctly when he says: "Let no vain imagination refer any of their traditions to a discovery of America by them. To sail across the boisterous Atlantic was beyond their power." There is no doubt, therefore, that such similarity as does exist between the styles of building in America and the Old World was merely accidental, the result of the common instincts of nature operating in the same way in different places, without inter-communication or reciprocal teaching of any kind. Nor must it be forgotten that, if there be

similarities in the models to some extent, the differences between them are much greater than such casual coincidences. The efforts to civilise themselves appear to have risen among all races of men instinctively and spontaneously to commence with. They were, of course, crowned with the greatest success where facilities for imitation also existed—as, for instance, in Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER XI.

FINAL REMARKS.

We have noticed in the preceding pages all the remains of antiquity which best represented the stages of human progress in their day, but have not, of course, referred to every ruin that exists, nor even to every city that had a name in the past. Our object has not been to give any elaborate or circumstantial history of the old world, but only an explanatory note on the most prominent landmarks of its development; and every fragment to which we have referred illustrates in a greater or less degree the civilisation of the country and age to which it belonged. It is unfortunate that we have no history of the past to elucidate the circumstances and wishes which gave rise to the monuments we see. We know all about Greece and Rome, but of the previous ages our knowledge is very inconsiderable and hazy. Modern research has been persistent and continuous in its endeavours to throw light on the subject; but the results as yet are exceedingly inconclusive, and there are no sufficient materials on which to found a historical review. We admire the ruins we see, and endeavour to make what deductions we can from them with the aid of the sculptures, paintings, basreliefs, and inscriptions by which they are decorated; but our deductions are hypothetical only: in many instances we do not even know by whom, or for what purpose, the buildings were erected, far less the circumstances which led to their erection. Their real history is, in short, almost a blank to us; it would be interesting if the blank could be filled up, but it does not seem likely that it ever will be.

Assyria, or Chaldea, stands forth as the first great parent, or original inventress, of Asiatic civilisation; but of the first ages of Assyria we have no definite information. After

holding empire for many centuries, she began to lose strength from the revolts of her subject nations, and was finally dismembered into three separate empires—namely, those of Babylon, Nineveh, and Media; but even the histories of these later sovereignties are not known to us in their fulness. The inscriptions and discoveries at Nineveh have since contributed a mass of information of great importance; but still not enough to fill up even the skeleton of a historical chart. Considerable light has been thrown by them on the manners and customs, the arts and beliefs of the people; but the circumstances which gave shape and direction to the civilisation of the day have not yet been very clearly elucidated. After the destruction of Nineveh the Babylonians exalted themselves to the highest pinnacle of glory; but their glory was of a transitory character, and after an interval of eighty-eight years their empire was destroyed by Cyrus, and Babylon confounded with the vast Persian monarchy created by the conqueror. Even of these eighty-eight years, within which the city was rebuilt and aggrandized, we actually know little; while we feel certain that from a long anterior period it must have been the seat of science and civilisation, of which time no particulars have come down to us. Nineveh derived its arts originally from Babylon, before the second or great Assyrian period; while, after the Chaldean conquest, Babylon in its turn borrowed all its knowledge from Nineveh. The Chaldeans were an intellectual and industrious race, and, if they came to the field later, they made up for lost time by their perseverance, and soon acquired a great aptitude for the arts. But we have no precise information in respect to the progress made by them, all our conclusions being no better than surmises based on doubtful inscriptions and inference.

The case is very similar in respect to Egypt, the history of which begins and ends nearly at the same time with that of Assyria, though some hold that the Assyrian period commences where the Egyptian period terminates. What is certain is that Egypt was one of the countries earliest civilised; but we do not know when it commenced to be

civilised. The ancients believed that it was the first country which had a regular and settled form of government; but no certain or even approximate date can be assigned to the commencement of that arrangement. Osiris is supposed to have been contemporaneous with Semiramis, and is also said to have overrun Assyria and held it in subjection for a time; but the accounts are extremely uncertain and obscure. Presumably, the two countries seem to have been nearly, if not absolutely, contemporaneous, while their glory and knowledge were nearly equal, and their power and duration scarcely dividant. The names of several Egyptian kings are remembered, but we have no certain knowledge of them till we come to the time of Rameses the Great, called Sesostris by the Greeks; if even then. The best ruins seen have been identified with the reign of Sesostris, and it is only by examining the sculptures and inscriptions on them that we are able to trace back the stream of knowledge to a limited extent. But we do not trace the stream to its source, nor throughout its passage either. We have evidences of extreme antiquity on all sides around us, but no very precise information to illustrate that antiquity. Of the high pitch of greatness and civilisation attained the proofs are abundant, but the adjuncts which facilitated their development are not known to us.

The Persian monarchy rose upon the ruins of the Assyrian, Median, and Egyptian empires, for Egypt, after her conquest by Cambyses, was never able to re-assert her greatness. The new empire was more extensive and more formidable than any that had preceded it, and we have some historical details of it, but still much too little for a comprehensive review. The duration of the empire from the time of Cyrus continued in a direct line for a little above two centuries, within which period Persepolis was raised; but we know so little of the circumstances which led to the construction of that city, that we are still in doubt as to its actual position in the empire, and whether it even was its metropolis. The monarchs of Persia resided at Babylon and Persepolis by turns, or as they wished, and

Susá yet existed as the acknowledged capital of the state. From the fragments seen at Persepolis, it is inferred that it was the favourite residence of royalty during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes; but, historically, the city is not much known to us; and the same story is true of all the other cities of the age. The admiration we express for Asiatic architecture and civilisation culminated at Persepolis. It would have been pleasing, therefore, to know by what precise steps the high standard of civilisation attained by it was acquired.

The Greek period is the first that is fully known to us in its details. The remains of the Pelasgic times are few, rude, and insignificant; the glory of Greece did not commence till after the Persian war. There were many buildings in the country before that date, but most of them were destroyed during the struggle, and those that remained were afterwards pulled down and rebuilt. The oldest buildings in Greece, as elsewhere, were the temples, and they were nearly all built within half a century after the victories gained at Salamis and Platæa, being the thankofferings of a grateful people for the triumphs vouchsafed to them. Power and artistic refinement thus went hand in hand, and were simultaneously developed; and this must have been the story all over the world. The Doric order of architecture was the first introduced in Greece, and was imported from Egypt. It was followed by the Ionic order, which was drafted from Asia; while the Corinthian came last, derived again from the regions of the Nile. All these derivations, however, were so purified and imbued with Grecian taste and feeling, that they formed altogether a new style which was Greek to the core, the purest and most intellectual the world has ever known.

Civilisation declined in Greece with the loss of power and prestige, the cycle turning in the direction of Rome, which was already extending its authority on every side. The opening history of Rome is a history only of wars and contentions, during which very little advance was made in civilisation and the arts, or in any-

thing, in fact, except military renown. In time the nation became powerful and prosperous, and destroyed Carthage, overran Greece, and reduced Egypt to subjection, and, becoming the capital of the world, Rome became the centre of the sciences and the arts. The architectural development of Rome was confined almost entirely to the three centuries of the empire, when all the larger buildings both in and out of Rome were either wholly erected or completed. Civilisation is the result of security and peace, and Rome gathered together a greater amount of material prosperity than had ever been known before. With this prosperity were collected all the models of architecture and civilisation which then existed in the world, and from these were elaborated an overwhelming style, that exhibited itself in an immense variety of structures never dreamt of before. Historically, these orders were developed, one after another, from the age of Augustus to that of the Antonines, all to be shivered on a later day by the battle-axes of the barbarians, and from their ruins to inaugurate a new history and a new civilisation.

We have reviewed the ancients as builders so largely in the previous chapters, that it cannot be necessary to examine them further in the same light here. We have seen their works of granite, marble, and stone, and have wondered how they made them. We do not know the age of the pyramids very precisely even now; but we can say this with certainty, that when they were constructed the arts and the sciences must have been well understood in Egypt. Where there were no granite and marble to work with they raised equally marvellous monuments with brick, bitumen, and lime; and these monuments also attest a thorough knowledge of the plastic arts. It is nothing to say, as Rollin does, that we do not hear of an Assyrian or Egyptian order of architecture. Of course not: the idea came first, the finish of it afterwards. To be wholly accurate, the historian ought to have added that there would have been no orders of architecture at all, either under the Greeks or the Romans, but for the advance previously

made in building by the Egyptians and the Assyrians. The marvel is, that the ancients made the discoveries they did, not that they left the further refining and classification of their discoveries to later nations. The temples of Nebo and Ammon did not equal in beauty the Parthenon or the temple of Jupiter at Athens; but we would never have heard of the Parthenon or the temple of Jupiter but for their Egyptian and Assyrian models. There were no Assyrian or Egyptian orders of architecture, to be sure, but both boldness of design and solidity of workmanship were fully developed in Assyria and Egypt, as symmetry and magnificence were in Persepolis; and no subsequent nations were ever able to surpass them in those particular respects. Taste and elegance of the highest order were not attained till the bright days of Athens and Rome; but, in admitting this, we must not forget that the Assyrians and Egyptians owed their discoveries entirely to themselves, which was not the case with the Greeks and the Romans. The superiority of Greece and Rome over Assyria and Egypt only represents the perfection of those arts which the latter initiated. The masonry, sculptures, bas-reliefs, and paintings to which they gave life and elegance had all existed in the world from a long prior date. They only handled the same materials in a happier way—that is, with greater taste; and the only praise due to them is therefore neither more nor less than what is similarly due to the Saracens, who, when Greek and Roman art fell into decadence, resuscitated it, and gave it a new direction, inventing nothing, but giving to the old inventions a peculiar and varied character.

The two forms of civilisation in existence before the Greek or historical period were the Assyrian and the Egyptian, and this is now sufficiently intelligible to us. Of the first, the oldest vestiges are represented by the mounds of earth intermixed with fragments of terra-cotta which are seen in the neighbourhood of Hilláh, and by the structures and other relics which have been disinterred from the rubbish-heaps that lay unnoticed for ages on the banks of

the Tigris, opposite to Mosul; while the later remains consist of the broken and detached fragments that still strew the granite platform of Persepolis. The other form stands stereotyped in the rocky wilderness of Thebes, presenting an air of immutability and serenity in the very midst of mutations. They both served as models for centuries for the rest of the world to imitate, and were the real foundation-stones on which the Greek and Roman civilisations were based. They played the parts they had undertaken for the improvement of the world, and not only their own ruins but those of Greece and Rome vindicate the standard of civilisation by which they were characterized.

One remarkable peculiarity of the ancient cities was their size, which, in some instances, was so prodigious as to have led to the accounts given of them being rejected as fabulous. But, if the facts of their case are fully considered, the reasons for their vastness can be easily understood, and, for our part, we see no cause to doubt that they were really as big as they are represented to have been. Thebes, Nineveh, and Babylon were, we are told, several times larger than London, and the idea is rejected as preposterous, without considering that, unlike London, they enclosed within their circuits large cultivation-patches with a view to provide subsistence to their inhabitants in time of siege, anobject w hich London has never pretended to seek for. If we want to understand the old arrangement aright we must observe the conformation of the old cities yet extant, such, for instance, as that of Peking, the walls of which enclose a sufficient area for tillage to feed the inhabitants in the event of their being cut off from the main country. This was the end always kept in view by the ancients. They made their seats of empire self-sustaining, for that was a necessity to them. War had not yet been reduced to a science at their day, and no properly defended city could be taken except by famine. It was an object therefore to achieve that which would best prevent a city from succumbing under

inimical pressure from without. Does not this explain the marvellous extent of the cities fully?

Most of the cities are also represented as having been surrounded by walls high, thick and impregnable, and this has been another stumbling-block in our way, for we are unable to conceive how walls could have been made so high as 300, or even 150 feet, or so thick as 85 feet, as those of Babylon and Nineveh are represented to have been. We regard such descriptions as fanciful; but in reality our objections to them are more fanciful than they are. The walls were made of mud encased in brick, and the difficulty of making them as high and thick as they are said to have been is purely imaginary. We know, for certain that the walls of the mud-fort of Bhurtpore in India, which was taken by the English in 1826, were from 50 to 60 feet thick. Why, then, could not the walls of Babylon have been 85 feet thick when they were made exactly of the same materials? In modern times we have no specimens of walls so very high as those which belonged to the Assyrian cities; but are not the proofs of their height still standing before us? The Gebel Makloub mountains to the north-east of Nineveh have been pronounced by competent judges to be artificial, and so also have been the hills that enclose the larger raceground at Thebes, which are seen even now to be pierced with gates. The object held in view was to render the places enclosed perfectly unassailable by such attacks as could be made in those ages; and we hold that both the size of the cities and the way in which they are said to have been walled have been historically proved. Troy was not reduced till after a ten years' siege, and then, as in the case of Babylon, only by artifice, and Tyre held out for thirteen years against Nebuchadnezzar. This shows that they must both have been well-walled, like Babylon, Nineveh, and Bhurtpore, to have stood out so long, and also very extensive in area, like the two first-named cities, to have produced all, or a great portion of the food-supply that was required by their

inhabitants during the time they were cut off from the rest of the world.

To attain the same end several of the cities appear again to have been divided into inner and outer towns, of which the former were especially defended with separate walls and intrenchments. Thus Babylon had a threefold wall around its inner town which was the seat of royalty, and Ecbátaná had a set of seven walls, one within another, to guard the central enclosure effectually. This also appears as a very remarkable arrangement to us; but that it was in fashion in the past is pretty certain from what we see in Peking to this day, that city being divided into three enclosures, one within another, the innermost of which is occupied by the imperial family. The narrative of Ctesias represents the Assyrian kings as having been very weak and voluptuous. It has been objected to this that the sculptures found at Nineveh represent them as having been perpetually engaged in fighting and hunting. The conformation of the cities, however, seems very strongly to support the version Ctesias has handed down to us. The kings of ancient times appear everywhere to have considered their own personal safety as the chief concern of the state; and that those who were the most weak and imbecile took the greatest pains to depict themselves as heroes in their sculptures and paintings is not very hard to believe. We, of course, understand that in all oriental countries the kings were the central points of the social and political systems, and all that; but why the central-points should have so assiduously sought for especial security within four-fold and seven-fold walls and intrenchments if they were really as great warriors as the sculptures make out, cannot be very easily understood.

There are no ruins of Babylon now to point to; they have crumbled into dust, and cannot be verified: but the monuments of Nineveh have been rescued, and fully vindicate the ancient descriptions given of Babylon. We see from those monuments that the Ninevites had attained a high degree of civilisation even before the Chaldean period;

and it is not too much to believe that the industrious Chaldeans did not in any respect fall short of the people they succeeded and with whom they had come most in contact. The ancient writers tell us that the Babylonians had created for themselves almost all the wants of civilised life, and were distinguished by them from the nomads by whom they were surrounded; that they built grand houses, wore costly garments, consumed rich viands, and used precious perfumes; and we have actual proofs of a similar state of existence in the sculptures disinterred from the ruin-heaps of Nineveh. They are again represented as having been inordinately rich; the statue of Bel is said to have been 40 feet high and made entirely of gold, and not that only, but there were in the same temple a similar statue of Beltis, the wife of Bel, and another of Rhea, while all the tables, censers, dishes, and other furnitures and utensils in it were also of gold; and this representation, we hold, is historically proved by the fact that Xerxes, on returning from a fruitless expedition, destroyed the temple and plundered its contents to replenish an exhausted exchequer.

The representations of Nineveh were in the same strain, and the discoveries made on the spot have confirmed them in every respect. The arts flourished in both cities, the sciences were sedulously cultivated, and the general principles of government were thoroughly understood, all before the Chaldean period, when the climax of Assyrian greatness was attained. We ask how this greatness was arrived at, and find no answer but one. Babylon became the first city of the world because its position made it the chief emporium of south-western Asia: the east could not communicate with the west without passing through it. The country around it was fertile, and very well cultivated from the earliest times; but, besides being a producing country, it was the most important mart of internal and external commerce in Asia. The city stood on the highway of trade; not only of the land-trade, but also of the sea-trade admitted through the Persian Gulf. Virtually, therefore, it traded in one direction with India, Arabia,

and Egypt by sea; in another with Persia, Bactria, and India by land; in a third with Armenia; and in a fourth with the commercial towns of Asia Minor and Phœnicia, and, through Petrá, with Arabia and Egypt. The advantages in the case of Nineveh were not equally great, but the prophet Nahun still says of it: "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven," and Ezekiel tells more particularly that the merchants of the neighbouring city of Ashur traded with Tyre in cloths of different kinds. This, then, was the real secret of the aggrandizement of the Assyrian cities. They could not help being great. Their commerce introduced the industrial arts among their inhabitants, made them rich in spite of themselves, and brought in knowledge, power, and luxury, and in time voluptuousness and effeminacy also. Nineveh, the commercial character of which was never so well developed as that of Babylon, succumbed to this effeminacy; but Babylon survived as a great city even after its conquest by Persia, its commercial position not having been very materially shaken thereby. Under the Persian empire the navigation of the Persian Gulf had many difficulties to contend with, and the Persians even made the Tigris and the Euphrates inaccessible with a view to guard against foreign invasions. Alexander saw the evils which were thus created, and was anxious to remove them. But he died immediately after his return from India, and the impeded commerce was never liberated, which more rapidly undermined the consequence of Babylon than foreign domination was able to do by itself.

We read the story of Egypt exactly in the same light. Like the Babylonians, the Egyptians also had a fertile country, and the further advantage of an exceptional climate; and they enjoyed all the necessaries of life almost without trouble and exertion. The products of the place were varied; it was especially known to the ancients for its abundant corn crops. But this was not all. The position of Egypt contributed more to its greatness even than its productiveness. It was destined by its situation

to be the central point of the caravan-trade threading through the whole interior of Africa, and it was to this trade only that Thebes owed its origin and its greatness. Thebes was the rendezvous of the caravans, and its large avenues of sphinxes, rams, and other colossi were probably the places where the merchants rested before proceeding towards the interior. The first stage from it to the south was Ammonium, a site founded in common by the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, and from which Thebes derived its worship of Ammon. It is supposed by several writers that civilisation in Egypt descended with the Nile from the south, and that Thebes followed in the wake of Meroe. If there be any doubt on this point, there is none that the greatness of Memphis came after that of Thebes. The domestic revolutions of Egypt transferred the commercial mart from Thebes to Memphis, which, though an older city in one sense, did not obtain greatness till after this change, and Thebes thus reached a stage of decadence even before the conquest of the country by Cambyses. Cambyses destroyed many of the greatest monuments of the city, but at a time when its internal greatness was already on the wane.

It is a common saying with historians that Egypt owed her immense riches to the exploits and conquests of her earliests sovereigns, and that her great edifices were raised by the slaves they brought in. There may be some truth in this statement of course, but in point of fact Egypt owed her greatness more to her commerce than to all other causes combined. A lively trade at home promoted the industry of its inhabitants; an illimitable foreign trade brought in vast amounts of money to stimulate that industry. The public edifices improved in their size and beauty with this abundance of wealth, and learning and refinement were developed. We are never weary of admiring the ruins of Thebes: examined carefully, they exhibit a knowledge of the whole science of mathematics almost to the extent to which it is now known to us; and at the period of the Persian invasion Egypt was already recognised as

the great school of the sciences, and the repository of all kinds of learning, though the arts had then already begun to decline. The political constitution and laws of the country were also fully developed, and were greatly admired—admired by the most renowned travellers from Greece, being believed by all antiquity to be the best, though they will not, of course, square with our modern ideas and instincts. In manners, language, and associations Egypt was more Asiatic than African, and resembled India more than any other Asiatic country: a proof, we take it, of the magnitude of her commercial relations in that age.

Assyria and Egypt were without question civilised before every other portion of the globe, but the civilisation of India and China could not have been much less ancient. We do not know as well of either country as could be wished; but we must not speak lightly of them on that account, for it is certain that Assyria and Egypt would not have been so great in their day but for the traffic that poured into them from the furthest East. All the accounts we have of that traffic describe the most valuable stores as coming from India and China, comprising not raw materials merely, but works of art for which the Indians of that age were particularly famous. Both the Indians and the Chinese are now despised as effete and imbecile nations, but there was evidently a harder side to their character in the past, when they figured as active manufacturers and merchants, and also as first-class scholars and workmen. The civilisations in India, China, Assyria, and Egypt seem, in short, to have been parallel and almost contemporaneous. They resembled each other in all essential points, and in nothing so much as in their commercial character; for we have veritable if later accounts of the Indians in their coasting-vessels sailing up the Red Sea, and of Chinese junks coming out half-way to exchange commodities with the western nations at Ceylon. As a rule, the Chinese character for commerce, however, was confined to internal traffic, and we find that feature of it vindicated by the many canals that intersect the country.

For eternal immutability go see the banks of the Nile; for restless activity and improvement, look from the Assyrian plains towards Persia and the regions beyond it on one side, and Syria and the Mediterranean and Ægean coasts on the other. Originally, Egypt was as active as the countries of Asia, but ceased to be so much earlier than them all. In Asia a taste for commerce has always existed—exists even now—and was very extensively developed both during and after the first historical era. Royal roads traversed the whole extent of Southern Asia, and the great cities were those only which commanded these trade-routes. The great rivers were also used as channels of communication, but never so largely as the land-routes, and where used they only co-operated with the trade by land. The river-traffic was not distinct from the land-traffic, though traffic by sea of course was. The sea-traffic on the side of Asia rested almost entirely in the hands of the Arabs and the Indians, while that on the European side was monopolised by the Phœnicians, the masters of Tyre and Sidon, who were expert sailors from the dawn of time. The original marts in Asia for both traffics were Babylon, Susá, and Tyre; but, as the land-traffic increased in importance, many intermediate marts arose, namely, the several Syrian and coast cities we have noticed, whose history in all essential particulars is nearly the same.

The travelling throughout Asia and Africa, particular places excepted, was, and is to this day, by caravans. It was not possible for any traveller to journey in safety alone. The powerful nomad tribes of Asia were very dangerous, and their lawlessness could only be resisted by numbers; and the length of the journeys rendered such combination for protection indispensable. There were deserts to cross where bandits were sure to be encountered; and the merchants knew that there could be no security for them except by joining together for common defence. Travelling by caravans being thus unavoidable, the places of rendezvous were multiplied in every direction; and all the important cities we have named were thus created, each

extensive mart becoming the nucleus of a great city. All these cities became necessarily rich and civilised, and, according to our reading, there is no road to national wealth and refinement except the commercial road. Those cities of the Old World only were great which had command of this road; and they owed their greatness and organization entirely to their position. This is the whole summary in brief of the history of the world. Wars and large armies have never yet aggrandized any nation except for the passing hour; nor has the rapacity of conquerors, rushing about to collect the riches of the world, enriched any country to any appreciable extent. Every city that has become great owes its greatness to its position and to the part taken by it in furthering the commerce of the world; and the story is absolutely the same almost in all cases.

In all the great states of Asia and Africa to which we have alluded, we find an intimate connection between religion and commerce, which accounts primarily for the erection of so many temples in them. The large quays, aqueducts, and canals with which they were stocked were for affording facilities to the commerce they protected and encouraged, and the temples not less so. The merchants included pilgrims, in fact the merchants were pilgrims themselves, or affected that character. The wandering tribes that molested commerce feared nothing except the vengeance and direct interposition of Heaven, and divine sanctuaries were necessarily places of safety to all. In several cities the appendages to the temples and sanctuaries were the resting-places of the merchants, especially so in Thebes, Babylon, and Tyre. The area round the Temple of the Sun in Pálmyrá is still called the Court of Camels, from which it is to be inferred that what is generally regarded as a temple only was most probably, in part at least, a caravanserái also. We see that at this day Meccá and Benáres are marts of the greatest importance; and so in the past were all the great cities of the world—bearing the double character of religious and commercial capitals.

The great cities were the offsprings of commerce and peace, and the articles they traded in included every commodity almost that we know of at present. All articles of luxury passed through them, such as gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; spices and perfumery of various kinds; diverse articles of clothing, raw and manufactured, such as cotton, silk, wool, goat-hair, and hemp; every variety of dyeing, in which the ancients seem to have been more proficient than we are, as their dyes were imperishable which ours are not, while they were at the same time more brilliant than we are able to make them. Weaving and dyeing especially appear to have been brought to the highest degree of perfection everywhere, and we have evidence of this in the Bible, in Homer, in Aristotle, and in Pliny, authorities of the most contradictory character bearing out the position with equal emphasis. Painting, says Pliny, was unknown at the time of the Trojan war; but this remark evidently had reference only to the knowledge of the Greeks. The Egyptians cultivated painting long before the Greeks existed as a nation, and the Assyrians knew it from the days of Semiramis. Even writing was known ages before Cadmus introduced the alphabets in Greece, the materials employed to write upon varying largely in different countries—stones, bricks, tiles, and wooden tablets being used at random by some, while papyrus and parchment were used by others. All these are indisputable proofs of a widespread civilisation originally attained and afterwards augmented by the free interchange of ideas which the extensive commerce of the Old World naturally facilitated.

Asiatic and African commerce, then, were the chief causes of the prosperity and greatness of the capital cities of Asia and Egypt. Let us now cross over the Mediterranean to see if the same story is not repeated in Europe. The Greeks, we read, were always a maritime people, though not equally so with the Phœnicians, whose mantle they took up. They felt that their country was poor and barren, and that a brisk and extensive commerce alone could render them powerful and respected; and they gave themselves up to it with con-

siderable ardour. We see traces of maritime expeditions in the legendary voyages of Jason, Bellerophon, Perseus, and Hercules, and, later, find the nation growing famous for it, particularly after the first expedition of the Persians into Greece. Why did Athens become so great and the first city of Greece? Mainly from having secured to itself the commerce of the Ægean and Black Seas. While its commercial and maritime importance were expanded from the ports of Munychia, Phalerum, and the Piræus, its aptitude for the arts was developed around the Acropolis, which was overspread with sacred buildings. No city in Greece displayed equal activity in the arts and manufactures with Athens, simply because none other was able to rival it in commercial importance. Enormous edifices like those of Egypt were, indeed, never raised by the Athenians; but the limits of their city were widely extended, and the entire area was covered with temples and public edifices displaying better taste and skill than were anywhere evinced.

Is the story of Rome dissimilar? It looks so; but the disagreement is more apparent than real. Rome almost reads at first as an exception to the general rule, being usually regarded as a military state that rose solely by its conquests. But those very conquests introduced industrial occupations among its inhabitants, and gave them command over the traffic of the countries conquered; and there is no doubt that Palmyrá and Baálbeck were occupied, restored, and strengthened to secure the full benefits of the trade they commanded. Roads and bridges were constructed in every direction and through every country which the Romans conquered, and these reacted on the greatness secured by conquest, and sustained it. In the republican period Rome was virtually devoid of monuments of any magnificence. It was after Carthage and Greece were conquered and when the trade of both fell into Roman hands that Rome became the centre of the arts and sciences, and began to emulate the glories of Athens and Egypt. All the country from the Euphrates to the Tagus now came under Roman domination: wealth, taste, and refinement were

attained with amazing rapidity; and with equal rapidity arose the vast edifices that rivalled Egyptian dimensions and the grace and taste of Greece. This, to some extent, was also the case with Persia, which of all Asiatic countries was the least commercial, but which by its conquests gathered in all the commerce of her subject countries, along with all their civilisation. Our reading, therefore, remains justified even by the exceptional cases we have cited, that martial glory of itself has never commanded the highest stages of prosperity and greatness, having only done so in particular instances when it was combined with commercial activity, whether self-engendered or incidentally evoked. The position of the Asiatic and Egyptian cities was altered by political convulsions by which the trade-routes were changed, when as a necessary consequence the cities fell never to rise again. But civilisation does not die; it was reproduced in Greece and Rome, and has again been reproduced after their destruction. Where, now, are the empires of Assyria and Egypt? Where Persia? Where Greece with her fastidious greatness? Where the unwieldy bulk of Rome? Each in her turn engrossed the attention of mankind to further the landmarks of improvement and advance the world, step by step, to the stage it has attained, acting the same parts in it that have devolved on England and America at the present day. They all had their missions chalked out for them, and who shall say that they did not fulfil their missions fully, according to the light that was in them? The interruptions that impeded them were constant, for invasions and conquests were as frequent then as now, nay, more frequent even than at present. But the passions of men could not quench the thirst for improvement, which is innate in human nature, and the first advances of Assyria and Egypt have, after various changes, landed the present generation on the high vantage-ground it occupies.

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